

studying a wide range of scientific issues, e.g. the effects of brain lesions or drugs upon behaviour. But for the most part, these applications fall within the technical sphere of experimental psychology and would not seem to have immediate relevance to human problems.

Skinner's concern with human behaviour appears to have begun during or soon after the Second World War and to have arisen particularly in connexion with issues of early development, more especially those related to the training of young children. From this he progressed to an interest in educational matters, as witnessed by his pioneer work on teaching machines and programmed instruction. So far, these methods have been limited to what one might call the inculcation of habits or rote learning and their aim seems to be largely the alleviation of educational drudgery. But there are now signs that he is seeking an extension of his methods to education in the wider sense, to what might be called the inculcation of ideals, values and standards of conduct—some might even call it indoctrination.

A clue to Skinner's thinking may be found in a novel called *Walden Two* which he published in 1948. Unlike most novels by scientists, this one is well written and its content closely related to the author's scientific preoccupations. It might indeed be described as a *roman à clef*. *Walden Two* is about a fictional community in the tradition of *Erewhon* in which conventional methods of child upbringing, family life and education have been displaced by behavioural engineering. Unlike most ideal communities, real or fictional, *Walden Two* does not represent a retreat from modern industrial society; rather it presents in microcosm an effectively run small industrial community. Nor are traditional liberal and humanist values wanting; Skinner indeed refers to free inquiry, open-mindedness and human dignity as terms which, even if their meaning is vague, relate to worthwhile goals.

What evidently expiates him is that so few people who advocate such goals appear to have the least notion of how to set to work to attain them. In *Walden Two*, these goals are achieved through carefully planned behaviour training beginning in infancy and carried through the school years to maturity. The essential principle is that of reinforcement by reward of behaviour explicitly needed by the community as desirable—little use being made of "aversive" training through the use of punishment. This regime is alleged to produce a totally planned, unflinching, with consequent withering away of the arbitrary and often inconsistent patterns of discipline ordinarily inculcated by parents and teachers. Far from suppressing spontaneity and freedom, Skinner believes that be-

havioural engineering will in fact enhance them. Further, he argues cleverly that training in coping with negative and frustrating emotional states will actually liberate children from the constraints of neurosis. As the fictional founder of *Walden Two* remarks: "We control adversity to build strength."

Is it in fact possible to envisage such a community? Provided that it is kept small and agreement can be reached as to the values and codes of conduct that are to be embodied in it, there seems no particular reason why *Walden Two* should not exist in fact. Indeed there are said to be a number of communities in the United States based upon this particular model. In several respects, too, it resembles some of the Israeli kibbutzim, in which collective child-rearing has greatly weakened family structure and a tremendous sense of purpose has been generated by the acceptance of a common ethic.

Beyond Freedom and Dignity could almost be described as a sequel to *Walden Two*, though it takes the form of a serious contribution to modern thought. Skinner deals in successive chapters with the technology of behaviour, freedom and dignity, punishment and its alternatives, values and culture, and the nature of man. Although he has interesting and often highly provocative things to say about all these large and difficult questions, it is perhaps best to limit consideration to the discussion of the technology of behaviour. For it is this, after all, which the author considers to justify his excursion into regions "beyond" traditional ethics. Broadly speaking, the technology of behaviour advocated by Skinner in this book is essentially that evolved in his animal studies and applied in his work on programmed instruction. It might be envisaged as an attempt to impose upon the real world the kind of behavioural engineering adumbrated in fictional form in *Walden Two*.

What is Skinner attacking? In psychology, one of the commonest gambits used by the proponent of a new theory is to erect a straw man—a caricature of an existing theory—which is then cleverly demolished. Skinner's straw man is what he calls "autonomous man". By this he appears to mean the view of man that holds that his behaviour can be explained by reference to "personality", states of mind, feelings, traits of character, purposes and intentions. By dispossessing "autonomous man" and replacing him by the planned effects of environmental manipulation, Skinner believes that psychology will achieve scientific status comparable to that of Newtonian physics. But is Skinner truly the Newton of psychology?

One might have supposed that "autonomous man" died with J. B. Watson, though even Watson admitted the existence of hereditary pat-

terns of behaviour and his work stimulated the study of behavioural genetics no less than that of learning. Skinner, on the other hand, seems to have very little interest in genetics or, indeed, in biology generally. Given the magnitude of his claim, this might seem a pity. From G. T. Fehner onwards, many attempts have been made to establish experimental psychology on the model of physics but none of these has had lasting success. Indeed the most solid parts of modern psychology would seem to be those securely anchored in the structure and function of the nervous system. But it is precisely these aspects of psychology that Skinner disregards. His behavioural technology owes nothing to the neurological sciences and it is indeed quite as remote from them as is Freud's psychoanalytical method. Is it not likely that behavioural technology, like psychoanalysis before it, will be overtaken by advances in our understanding of the physical basis of behaviour?

But let us be fair. There is no question that Skinner has given us a method of studying animal learning of considerable scientific and practical value. It has also found limited, but none the less highly useful, applications to certain relatively limited aspects of human behaviour. Skinner's reinforcement theory can satisfactorily explain some aspects of social learning in childhood and after, though its application to the acquisition of language has proved altogether less happy. But what it has not done—and what it is doubtful whether it ever can do—is to explain those aspects of human behaviour which are ordinarily said to display intelligence and judgment, and are ordinarily ascribed to "autonomous man" simply because science does not know enough to provide a better explanation. True, it is doubtful whether terms such as "freedom" or "dignity" will have any place in a scientific explanation of behaviour—but as no such explanation at present exists it is difficult to see why they should be debited from our psychological vocabulary.

Although *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* is well-written, provocative and thoughtful, it is marred by the fact that the author suffers from a well-known occupational disease of psychologists, namely premature generalization from limited evidence. A fellow-sufferer was Freud. Pavlov, on the other hand, strongly resisted this disease, or at the worst was only a very mild case of it. Again and again he cautioned psychologists for going beyond their evidence and until they should learn not to do so refused to accept psychology as a natural science. Skinner's claim to be a natural scientist cannot be disputed, but this is not a scientific book.

Why should a book rather narrow in scholarship, philosophically naive and scientifically almost worthless attract such wide notice, both here and in the United States? Certainly it is well written but there must be more to it than this. One reason may be the curiously ambivalent attitude which many people hold towards human engineering. On the one hand, the enormous success of science and technology has given hope that human and social problems will likewise yield to scientific method. On the other hand, the possibility of control over behaviour which the application of scientific method may bring strikes terror into many a humanist heart. People fear, not wholly without justification, for the values embodied in our culture which Skinner seems to reject along with all the rest of "autonomous man". This ambivalence appears to have prompted the hostile reception accorded in many quarters to Skinner's latest work.

Yet just as the hopes vested in the capacity of science to solve human and social problems have been so largely disappointed, so are the fears associated with human engineering proving grossly exaggerated. Skinner's principles embody little more than is already known to

parents, teachers and, for most part, trainers of performing animals. He has done is to formulate knowledge more adequately and to provide experimental techniques designed to make it more precise. It has also proposed that it should be applied in more consistent and tenable a fashion. There is, for no reason to believe that Skinner fails to uphold the traditional values of our culture. He is humanist, with its endless repetition of well-meaning precepts without thought as to their translation into practice. In conclusion, perhaps Watson after all right in speaking of behaviourism as a purely American phenomenon. Masked by a powerful mental acumen, one sees in Skinner the naive idealism of the author of *Walden Two* and the character of an American belief in human goodness and perfectibility, given only the embodiment of only the formal technocracy of mid-twentieth-century America but also the simple and optimistic—one might almost say innocent—of an earlier generation of American intellectuals, happy from extinct.

Not for theorists

ROBERT S. WOODWORTH and HAROLD SCHLOSBERG, *Experimental Psychology* Revised by J. W. Kling and Lorrin A. Riggs 1,278pp. Methuen. £9.50.

R. S. Woodworth's *Experimental Psychology*, which first appeared in 1938, brought together a vast amount of factual material relevant to psychological issues in the study of which experimental method had found application. A revised edition of this book prepared by Woodworth in association with Harold Schlosberg, of Brown University, appeared in 1954. This maintained the old pattern but gave a good deal more space to topics such as animal learning, which had by then become much more central in American psychology.

Both the original and the revised editions of *Experimental Psychology* have been widely used in this country, appealing perhaps to the British empirical sense and scepticism with regard to the plethora of theories with which modern psychology has been plagued. None the less, the uneasy compromise between the old (German) and the new (American) outlook in psychology remained. Like its predecessor the revised

Experimental Psychology was much a transitional book. With the present edition, the situation may be said to be complete. It has been prepared by the original and seventeen contributors, of whom ten on it has been used as a textbook for Soviet positions. The book is now essentially a text on the major interests of contemporary American psychology and follows for the most part the distinction between receptive and executive psychological functions. It bears but a tenuous relation to the original or revised text, considered as an essentially temporary American psychology text.

A. Remington has striven hard to bring to the thesis that the pact between free and equal states is a treaty of cooperation and mutual aid, and may for the most part be considered as an essentially temporary American psychology text. But this is in no sense to be taken as a criticism of the book. It is a good book, and covers its field in a highly welcome and in the case of some of its truly authoritative material.

The editors tell us that they tried to follow the example of earlier editions "in avoiding any preoccupation with jargon, narrowly defined experimental methods, and good experimental design" (Could they not simply have said "plain English"?). Certainly, the contributors have done their best to explain things clearly, though the uneasy compromise between the old (German) and the new (American) outlook in psychology remained. Like its predecessor the revised

Real and ideal relations between states

SPANIER: *Real and Ideal Relations Between States* Nelson. £4.50 (paperback).

International relations can be studied, according to John Spanier, in three different ways: or, as he prefers to say, analysed at three different levels. The first is the level of the system, in which the critical factor is the ever-changing distribution of power between nation-states. The second is internal to the system itself, with its domestic values imposing constraints on its foreign policies. The third, which comes in the first two and differs from them in being primarily a sub-area of analysis, is the making system. Professor

Spanier also draws a useful distinction between the analytic and the normative functions of international studies, the former aiming to understand the actual behaviour of states, the latter aiming to recommend what their behaviour ought to be. Since *Games Nation Play* is written for the use of university students, it may be supposed that the normative function is the one that will interest them most; but Professor Spanier will keep them firmly on the rails of analysis first.

The main body of the book is divided into two parts, one dealing with the states system and the other with decision-making by national leaders. In the first part Professor Spanier lays emphasis on four characteristics of the states system: first, the central role of the balance of power; secondly, the high degree of uniformity which the system imposes on states, regardless of their domestic complexion; thirdly, the narrow limits within which the system allows freedom of policy; fourthly, the continuity of policy which is characteristic of the system. These features are illustrated with a large number of examples drawn from recent history, particularly that of Britain and Russia. The second part might therefore be expected to be something of an anti-climax. Although Professor Spanier carefully examines the domestic characteristics of the major nation-states and the developing countries as well as the vagaries of policy into which their leaders' perceptions or mis-perceptions of reality lead them, the student may well gain the impression that these factors make little

difference in a world state-jacketed by the states system. Such a conclusion would be unjust, and Professor Spanier is careful to disavow it. His analysis of the policy of Great Britain in the 1930s, and the outbreak of the Second World War, points to a generalization of wider significance: "While the state-system level of analysis could prescribe what Britain should have done, the nation-state and decision-making levels can best explain and could have predicted what did happen." In other words, the British government blundered into a near-disaster from the best of motives because of a mis-perception of international realities.

Exactly the same, unfortunately, could be said of the United States government thirty years later in Vietnam; and Professor Spanier, writing for American students, very frankly says it. But he does not belong to that unattractive school of academics which believes in "my country always wrong". In a most interesting analysis of American self-criticism, he concludes that militant anti-communism was not so much the force that impelled the United States government to intervene in Vietnam as the tool it used to mobilize popular support. Now that the mistakes have been appreciated, and once the Vietnam commitment is liquidated (itself a frighteningly large hypothesis), the next question is whether future US

Friction behind the Curtain

ALISON REMINGTON: *Friction Behind the Curtain* Yale Univ. Press. £4.65.

The simplest interpretation of the Warsaw Pact is that it is a counterweight to NATO and a counterforce to the latter of the Federal Republic, and that the pact has been used as a device for Soviet positions. The Warsaw Pact is a treaty of cooperation and mutual aid, and may for the most part be considered as an essentially temporary American psychology text. But this is in no sense to be taken as a criticism of the book. It is a good book, and covers its field in a highly welcome and in the case of some of its truly authoritative material.

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Dr Remington's text runs to something less than 200 pages and much of his narrative is only tenuously or artificially connected with the Warsaw Pact; essentially what he has done is to trace the Soviet Union's handling of difficulties that have cropped up in its relations with certain other East European countries which also happen to be members of the alliance. The rest of the book is made up of documents, including the texts of treaties, communications and articles from the Soviet press, a number of tables and charts, an extensive bibliography, and good name and subject indexes. The proof-reading was less painstaking than one might have wished, and not only in the exciting matter of transliteration.

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governments can give up their moralistic approach to foreign policy and become reliable practitioners of the states system. Much the same question has faced the Soviet Union in the aftermath of Stalinism and the fall of Khrushchev.

Professor Spanier is coolly optimistic about the future. This indeed is in a sense inevitable, because there would not be much use in a professor of political science preaching total pessimism about international relations to his students. His object is to dispel both cynicism and illusion. As he says in conclusion, "the beginning of wisdom is to understand, even if only a little bit more, the most difficult of all worlds—the real one." It would be presumptuous from this side of the Atlantic to recommend him to the American students for whom it is primarily intended. But it deserves to be said that it is by no means exclusively adjusted to their angle of vision. Professor Spanier's viewpoint is genuinely global, not in any Olympian. His case-studies are selected by the criterion of relevance to his themes; and include as much material from British, European, Soviet and Afro-Asian history as from North and South America. Above all, his style is lucid, readable and free from jargon. Politicians as well as students could profit from reading him.

KURT SONTHEIMER: *Das politische System Grossbritanniens* 231pp. Munich: Piper. DM 16.80.

The organizers of the annual Anglo-German-Königswinter Conference always knew that these occasions would improve Anglo-German relations, in promoting more understanding between politicians, better-informed presentations by journalists and broadcasters, and a general sense that official spokesmen for each country knew better what the other was up to. It may come as rather a surprise that Kurt Sonthheimer, a leading representative of the postwar school of German political scientists, has been inspired by his participation in these annual gatherings on the Rhine to produce an excellent textbook on the British political system; yet all he has done is to carry the spirit and purpose of Königswinter a stage further than the politicians and commentators, since his book is marked by an understanding of Britain which is deep and sym-

pathetic, while justifiably critical on occasion. In the confined space of just over two hundred pages, Sonthheimer manages to give a survey of all the main institutions and forces of British political life, from the principles of the constitution through the electoral system, the rules of parties, parliament, and interest-groups, to the problems of regional government, economic policy, and foreign relations. On each of these topics the author succeeds very effectively in presenting the basic facts, together with shrewd and well-judged comments which make this a more lively and penetrating manual than most. His concluding picture of a Britain which has in many ways found its old institutions and habits in need of renovation, but is fairly actively working out how to achieve this, is thoughtful and persuasive. This is a book of what a friendly observer expects from Britain, as we prepare to take our place in the European Community, deserves an English translation.

As Germany sees us

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Drake's progress

GEORGE MALCOLM THOMSON: *Sir Francis Drake* 358pp plus 18 plates. Secker and Warburg. £1.50.
KENNETH R. ANDREWS (Editor): *The Last Voyage of Drake and Hawkins* 283pp. Cambridge University Press for the Hakluyt Society. £6.

These two books present a notable contrast in size, price, scope and treatment. George Malcolm Thomson in a hefty and well-illustrated work sets out to produce a popular biography based on a reading of the best modern scholarship, fortified by a study of such earlier books as have stood the test of time, and occasionally seasoned with a reference to the *Calendars of State Papers*. To do, in short, for the 1970s what A. E. W. Mason did for the 1920s. Professor Andrews' book, more expensive but lighter in the hand and more elegant in both its production and its illustration, modestly confines itself to the printing and editing of the principal documents, English and Spanish, relating to the most neglected and least successful of Drake's enterprises. But in spite of this rigorous limitation of aim it conveys even to a layman more insight into the nature and character of Drake and his contemporaries as well as a much more convincing picture of the world in which they lived. This is not altogether surprising, since Professor Andrews by his earlier books on Elizabethan privateering and on Drake's voyages has established himself not only as the leading authority on the Elizabethan seaman but as a scholar in the tradition of Sir Julian Corbett and J. A. Williamson who did not think it vulgar to be readable.

Mr Thomson brings to his task the virtue of industry and the grace of enjoyment. He has read Brundage and J. H. Parry, though not, apparently, C. R. Boxer's masterly book on the Portuguese seaborne empire or anything at all by J. H. Elliott. He has evidently been at pains to understand what he has read and to get his facts right. Of his enthusiasm for Drake there can be no doubt. He can, when he chooses, narrate, describe, or summarize clearly and simply.

The beaver war

Peter Skene Ogden's *Snake Country Journals*
Edited by Glyndwr Williams.
201pp plus xvii. Hudson's Bay Record Society.

Professors David E. Miller and David H. Miller have written the introduction and prepared the voluminous notes of this twenty-eighth volume of the publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society. Peter Skene Ogden was a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company. He led trapping and trading expeditions into what are now the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada and Utah, when the sovereignty of this territory, disputed by Great Britain and the United States, was still unresolved. The records of Ogden's expeditions in 1824-25, 1825-26 and 1826-27 have been previously printed, and in this volume there is a map which incorporates recent research indicating certain corrections in the previous volume published by the Society.

Ogden's activities were, of course, commercial in purpose, but the uncertainty concerning the political control of the vast territory between the Russian possessions in Alaska and the Mexican lands of California prompted Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company to think in terms not only of commerce but of "keeping out the Americans". Ogden was an agent of Simpson's strategy, which consisted of exhausting the beaver resources of the area

These undoubted merits must be weighed against a tendency to pepper up the greier elements of history with adjectives or clichés that supply the missing colour or excitement. "Drake hid his chagrin as best he could." How does Mr. Thomson know? They must be weighed, too, against an ignorance of the naval background and a misuse of nautical terminology, irritating in the constant employment of the neuter instead of the feminine pronoun for a ship ("It cut its cable"), harmless in its taking warring for twining, but ludicrous in asserting that a warship built in the first years of Queen Elizabeth could have served as Blake's flagship nearly a century later. You often find the author patronizing the men of the age of which he is writing. "Drake had not forgotten the practical side of the voyage." This seems equivalent to observing that Shakespeare had not forgotten the dramatic side of *Othello*.

The story of Drake's life is such an amazing one that whenever Mr. Thomson is content to refrain from judgment or conjecture and simply to narrate he has both wind and tide in his favour. Professor Andrews, working his vessel through the far trickier waters of learned editorship, yet manages to carry a more glorious spread of canvas. Maynard's narrative of the voyage of 1595-96 vividly sketches the character of its two great commanders and convincingly documents the smouldering and blazing mutual resentment that brought it near to unrelieved disaster. The reader has here the advantage of seeing Drake presented against the background of his time and in the company of men of his own stamp. How freshly his follower William White Locke comes before us in the half-page or so of his lawyer brother's description. Among the many valuable documents here printed for the first time are a number of contemporary Spanish accounts and the narrative of Sir Thomas Baskerville who succeeded to the command of the expedition after the death of its two leaders. The exchange accounts of the voyage too illuminate the conditions under which men went to sea in the late sixteenth century. This book is indispensable to any serious student of the period.

Mr Thomson brings to his task the virtue of industry and the grace of enjoyment. He has read Brundage and J. H. Parry, though not, apparently, C. R. Boxer's masterly book on the Portuguese seaborne empire or anything at all by J. H. Elliott. He has evidently been at pains to understand what he has read and to get his facts right. Of his enthusiasm for Drake there can be no doubt. He can, when he chooses, narrate, describe, or summarize clearly and simply.

Nelson's way

GEOFFREY BENNETT: *Nelson the Commander* 222pp. Batsford. £1.90.
KENNETH LANGMAID: *The Blind Eye* 166pp. Jarrulds. £2.25.

Alfred Thayer Mahan, the first and by far the best naval biographer of Nelson, foresaw a long range of successors. "So much being known", he wrote, "biographies... will contrast with one another, not in point of abundance of material, but as portraits do, according to the ability of the workman to reproduce, from the original before him, on impression of the man which shall be at once full, true and living."

With such an exemplar on his desk, every fresh aspirant, as he ponders the shelves laden with earlier efforts, must look for a justification of his own venture. Geoffrey Bennett's publishers state on his jacket that his is the first full-length study to be written by a professional naval officer since Mahan: but, however "full length" is defined, Mark Kerr (1932), William James (1948) and Russell Grenfell (1949) were undoubtedly professional sea officers, and their books were undoubtedly full length. Captain Bennett's strongest point is the way he emphasizes Nelson's influence on naval practice in his own time, and later.

The author's studies of the First World War in particular lead him to the conclusion that most of the men who directed the affairs of the Royal Navy missed the whole pith of Nelson's success—his trust, or rather his lively faith, in subordinates, and his willingness to allow them scope. Lord Cunningham was a conspicuous example, much later, of the same thing, but centralizers such as Sir Dudley Pound might never have heard of Nelson. They would not have fully realized

how the battles of St Vincent and the Nile were won by the courage and initiative of a single officer who, in one case, put himself for the shoes of his own commander-in-chief, and, in the other, made his own captains that they were free to think.

Some of the author's information about Nelson's relations with the Russians in the Mediterranean at the Nile will come fresh to many readers. The senior admiral was, says, "extremely saddened" by Tsar's order to send a subordinate to join the British. Anyone who experienced Russian cooperation or the lack of it, in the Second World War would have guessed as much, and, Captain Bennett adds, "with that acute suspicion of all foreigners which is so characteristic of the Russian people", the admiral was only too happy to disobey.

Conscientious and well-considered as this book is, there are at least two aspects of Nelson that remain to be explored. The first is what he himself wrote about war, the sublime but illuminating statements scattered in the seven volumes of letters and dispatches, edited during the last century by Sir Harris Nicolson. The second is what is not done in the logs of the ships in which Nelson served. Meanwhile, there is much to admire in the standard of the present book.

Another naval officer, Captain Langmaid, has seized on the aspect of Nelson which so attracts the adventurous mind—his enlightened disobedience on the right occasion. He tells what took place at Copenhagen in 1801 when Nelson put his telescope to his blind eye. He also recalls a succession of other events, mainly in the two World Wars, that did not always go according to official intentions. It is a slight book, but as a footnote to more solemn naval history, it has points.

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347pp. Secker and Warburg. £3.50

These two books tell the story of two successive German intelligence services, the Abwehr from 1935 to 1944 and the Gehlen Organization which came into existence at the moment of defeat in 1945 and survives to the present as the BND (Federal Intelligence Service). The former began badly, with lunatic ideas based on spy-romances, and proceeded through a period of growing ineptitude until it achieved total inefficiency and collapse, penetrated by its external enemies and dabbling futilely in internal anti-Nazi intrigue. The latter started much better, with ideas influenced by the practical exigencies of intelligence in the field, grew inordinately, came to rely too much on agent information, was penetrated by its external enemies and created a major scandal by intriguing unsuccessfully against its internal political enemies. It is a question whether this is a typical life-history of all intelligence services or only of German ones.

The Game of the Foxes, a real bedside book, long but broken up into short self-contained chapters, derives most of its value from a discovery Ladislav Farago made himself, of microfilm records of the Abwehr. The Abwehr, dealing with operations against Britain and, to a lesser extent, the United States. Their evidence is spiced-up by Mr Farago in the style of a popular news-magazine, as we are told, for instance, that a wireless operator in Hamburg was "boyish-faced, blue-eyed, low-headed", and that the Abwehr second-in-command in Paris, Riemann, was a "big, heel-clicking, hand-kissing, sybaritic Austrian". When we are told that Riemann is that he is not told about Riemann is that he is a byword even among his colleagues in that grievously defective organization for inefficiency and general sloppiness. For Mr Farago, under the influence of his own discovery, and despite the research of which an impressive bibliography is the witness, is inclined to present too favourable a picture of the Abwehr.

It is sheer bad luck that *The Game of the Foxes* should have appeared in Britain only two months

after the publication of Sir John Masterman's *The Double-Cross System* reviewed in the TLS on February 18. This admirably sober and authentic treatise luridly illuminates the claims of the Hamburg and Bremen *Stellen*. The proof there contained—and Mr Farago cannot help accepting it—that M15 "actively ran and controlled the German espionage system" in Britain means that the microfilm never which he has perused so lovingly the records of a pathetic delusion. He knows this, because he has read Masterman's original secret memorandum, which appears as "unpublished" in his bibliography and is twice very briefly quoted in the text as "M15 files"; but he is plainly a little sad about it. The narrative reader is likely to be puzzled at times. He reads about "the Abwehr's most successful mission", with lots of detail, only to find out later that it was a success for M15. The fact that every agent in Britain was controlled turns up on page 284. On page 595 he reads about Major Sandel's "best spy, still at large in Britain", who sends on January 15, 1944, a message about Eisenhower's arrival next day. If he turns up the index he will realize that the "best spy" had been a British agent for nearly four years, and if he knows anything about the game he will realize that this is just the sort of genuine but useless fact that a case-officer would give a double-agent to send (Eisenhower had arrived on the 14th, and it would be announced on the 16th); but during bedside reading the mind is perhaps not at its most critical.

The chapters about the United States are thinner, mainly because Hitler thought espionage there both unnecessary and undesirable. There are stories worth mentioning about the involvement of those strangely contrasting figures, John L. Lewis of the CIO and William Rhodes Davis, the oil-magnate, in intrigues in which the Nazis were interested. On the whole, however, there is nothing of great significance, though the tendency to leakage of both soldiers and civilians is well illustrated. When he turns to the Mediterranean theatre, Mr Farago is certainly not at home. He thinks, for example, that when Mussolini fell in July 1943 "the huge Afrika Korps in Libya was now in danger of being hopelessly cut off". The Afrika Korps of two divisions only, and the German/Italian Army Group of which it formed a small part, had not only been cut off but had laid down their arms two months earlier.

Nothing but praise, on the other hand, is due to Mr Farago's demonstration, based on much hard work, that the story of the spy who guided

Lieutenant Prien's U-boat into Scapa Flow is a sheer invention of an out-of-work newspaperman. He also gives full supporting evidence of Schellenberg's famous gaffe about the Czechoslovakian gaffe. Noting that his report, near as it happened, came from Portuguese sources, and confusing that language with Spanish—and trying to be too clever—he firmly asserted that Roosevelt and Churchill would meet in the White House, going on to invent details to add verisimilitude in his error. Nevertheless it was Schellenberg and the SS who took over when Canaris and the Abwehr were finally discredited. Intellectually they were no better: H. R. Trevor-Roper says in his essay on Canaris, "they probably believed more abject rubbish than any other ruling class in Western history"; but at least they were new hounds and swept away a mass of the worthless misinformation illustrated in *The Game of the Foxes*.

More characteristic of the genuine German shrewdness and gift for methodical accumulation of information was intelligence in the field. It was from this that General Reinhard Gehlen, the subject of *Network*, received his first initiation. He was a regular officer, commissioned in 1921, who joined the General Staff in 1935; it does not appear, in spite of what H. R. Trevor-Roper says in his valuable and spirited introduction, that he was any more of a Nazi than any other regular officer. In 1942 he transferred from operations to become head of intelligence for the Eastern Front, a position comparable with that of Sir Kenneth Strong under Eisenhower. Here, faced with tangible and immediate necessities, he appears to have done reasonably well. It is true that even so he never conquered the peculiar German obsession with agent information, but at least he learnt to pay some attention to the really valuable sources of prisoner interrogation, wireless interception, aerial reconnaissance and captured documents. He built up, as every competent intelligence officer must do, full card indexes on Russian formations and personalities.

When the collapse came, he offered himself and his files to the Americans, promising them also to reactivate what he claimed to be a large network of agents behind the Russian lines. The offer was accepted, and he was allowed to pick a team of officers and set up a self-contained organization. The agents came to nothing, but before long a far more valuable, copious and reliable source became available when German prisoners-of-war started to be released from Russia.

From these, and from the continuously growing card-indexes, he was able to form a fair picture of the Russian military and industrial machine. Russian officers in the occupation armies, especially in Austria, also provided many willing informants. In 1955 the Gehlen Organization, as it was called, was taken over by the German Federal Republic and placed under the direct control of the Chancellor's office. The organization continues under his successors.

Heinz Höhne and Hermann Zolling are critical though objective. They concede that Gehlen did good work in the early days. It was a feather in his cap that he was the first to break the scarcely believable news that the Russians were raising a new German army in 1948. Until the building of the Berlin wall he gave no warning and the creation of a ruthless and efficient counter-espionage organization in East Germany, he kept Bonn well informed of developments in the East—an easy but necessary task. With time criticism grew. He had recruited ex-SS-men, fewer no doubt than hail his opposite number behind the wall, but they were more vulnerable in a democracy. This came the revelation, in 1963, that the organization had been penetrated in the tiny by a Russian agent. To make the parallel with the Abwehr complete, Gehlen was proved guilty of political intrigue. When Adenauer retired, his successors insisted on reform of the service. The authors are hopeful that under new management it will remain a valuable instrument "so long as the isolated social systems of the East close their doors to a world eager for détente".

Network is engagingly written, based on thorough and documented research, and is well translated by Richard Barry.

Linguistics in Language Teaching

D. A. Wilkins

The idea that linguistics is a subject of particular interest and value to foreign language teachers is one that has become increasingly accepted in recent years. This book relates current linguistic thought to the practical problems of language teaching, including English as a foreign language. David Wilkins has adopted a deliberately practical approach: he has not attempted to promote a single theoretical view or to provide a complete survey of theoretical linguistics. By selecting features from various schools of thought, he has shown how a learning programme will be influenced by aspects of theoretical and descriptive linguistics. He has thus selected a number of major topics in linguistics—for example phonetics, phonology, grammar, vocabulary, social function of language—which he explains briefly (but simply enough for the non-linguist) and then relates to foreign language pedagogy. Including in the discussion any significant approaches supplied by the main linguistic theories. He writes: "I have attempted through the discussion of a wide range of topics to discover how far decisions in language teaching can be, and some instances have been, informed by a knowledge of linguistics".

Contents: Linguistic attitudes to language. Phonetics and phonology. Grammar, Vocabulary. The social function of language. Error and the psychology of language. Linguistics and the mother-tongue. Linguistics and the second language. Recommended further reading. Index. £2.50 net

In the end, however, the Indian armed forces had the insuperable benefit of clear political objectives. They were to liberate Bangladesh as quickly as possible and to fight a holding action in the west and north in the event of attack. It is hard to think of another military campaign which achieved its political aims so swiftly and so decisively.

—Edward Arnold

THE POWER OF PRINT—1

Literacy and the non-literate

BY JACK GOODY

IT IS A MISTAKE to think of pre-colonial Africa as the dark continent unenlightened by the lamp of literacy. We do not, it is true, know of any early systems of writing which developed there, though some, such as the famous Vuh, and the lesser known scripts, such as the Sango, were invented after the colonial period had begun. But alphabetic writing of Middle Eastern origin made its mark outside Egypt in a number of places, notably in the southern sectors of the continent. Christianity and its literature came to be important in Ethiopia, and Islam spread in the savannah country of the West and along the coastal regions of East Africa, bringing its teachers, its brotherhoods, its books.

The nature of religious literacy inevitably placed certain limitations on its effectiveness; it was a restricted literacy both in terms of the proportion who could read and the uses to which writing was put. Moreover, its religious basis meant that a major function was communication to or about God. While courts utilized writing for a number of purposes—judicial, treaty-making, epistolary—it was the magical-religious aspect which most impressed the majority of the population. They were concerned with writing as a means of communicating with God and other supernatural agencies, rather than as a means of social and personal advancement. Certainly there was nothing to be ashamed of in being non-literate.

But the position is now changing. The new literacy, associated with predominantly secular teaching at European-type schools, lies at the basis of a dual economy, a dual economy of the spirit as well as of labour. What does the advent of modern literacy do to societies that were previously non-literate? The extent to which new commercial and political activities depend upon literacy hardly needs stressing. The growth of towns, the growth of the economy, the growth of the political system involving mass participation, the growth of the media; all these depend to a greater or lesser extent upon changes in the system of communications. But 80 per cent of Africa, as of other parts of the developing world, remains illiterate. What effect does the growth of literacy in their midst have on this segment of the population?

It gives rise at once to an extending horizon of mobility. It forces the gaze towards considerations of achievement rather than birth. This criterion may not be universally applied, but it is always relevant. In Africa the role has been a drastic modification of existing elites. Some of the slaves taken to school, when their owners refused to sell them, were recruited to the pressure to recruit their own sons. Some have achieved more than their fathers. Freely paid off. The first literate has become the first MP for his district. This new system of achievement carries a new system of rewards leading to the successful individual out of the local setting and enables him to operate on a national level: it enables him to command national or even international salaries. The new elite, seeking to maintain its own position, encourages its children to pursue the same goals, and the system of education, earlier an open channel to social mobility, now becomes the instrument of status preservation.

But even in the early phase it is not simply a matter of achievement; it is also a yawning gap between those who have been to school and those who have not, between heaves and haves. For the non-literate, social change is associated with "knowing books". In David Ruba's novel, *No Bride Price*, the hero comes to his native village and is greeted by his uncle.

"You are an old man who had seen life, who had been to school, who had been to the city. But the change came with a book to his hand. Every day he sat at the edge of the village and read with the children. Under these conditions there is bound to be a sense of inferiority which causes the pace of educational development to slow down. For there are

now too many educated for the available jobs. While people have been educated out of subsistence agriculture (as they see it), there is no alternative occupation. We find the classic dichotomy, typical of Ceylon, of Egypt and becoming more typical of Africa: the educated unemployed, the school leaver who refuses to go back on the land, who regards himself as destined for a white-collar job.

Thus, in many parts of the continent the effect of introducing literacy is, temporarily at least, to split the population into two halves, one of which is largely rural, the other mainly urban. The split may not always take the form of a physical separation. But many of the literates working in the country will be doing so reluctantly, with their eyes on the town and on its life. For literacy achieved through formal education is the main method of self-advancement, of reaching beyond the level of subsistence farming. Indeed it is not only at the subsistence level that agriculture is considered to provide an inadequate life; the stress of school-leaving rituals exists elsewhere, in favour of white-collar jobs (or "white-collar" jobs, as they are sometimes called in West Africa), preferably in an urban setting.

Let us look at the situation in Northern Ghana in greater depth. Writing was not unknown in this region before the colonial conquest. Indeed that conquest was recorded by a Muslim author, Al-Hajj Umar of Salaga, who wrote a widely distributed poem on the coming of the Christians. In D. G. Murlin's translation, it runs:

A sun of disaster has risen in the West,
Gliding down on people and populated places . . .
The Christian calmly has come upon us

Like a dust-cloud.
At the start of the affair, they came peacefully.
With soft sweet talk.
"We've come to trade," they said.
"To reform the beliefs of the people.
To halt oppression here below, and
To clean up and overthrow corruption."

Not all of us grasped their motives. So now we've become their inferiors. They deluded us with little gifts And fed us with costly foods. But recently they've changed their tune. Literacy was used by Muslims for a variety of purposes, principally religious ones. But the rulers were rarely if ever literate. They used some literates as scribes and secretaries but, unlike the later Fulani conquerors of Northern Nigeria, they did not themselves know how to read and write; and indeed knowledge of these skills was seen as inimical to the practice of war and government. In this respect the situation was similar to certain kingdoms in the ancient Middle East, where rulers were not necessarily literate and whose status who could write might have a status inferior to those who could not. Indeed, the word scribe has something of a pejorative implication in this day: a mental intellectual, at hand for the purposes of administering to the ruling class.

With the advent of colonial rule, the situation changed: the value of literacy as a means of social and personal advancement was immediately clear. The new conquerors used writing at every stage in their administration of the country; once they had locked away the Marim guns in their armoury, it was the pen and

telegraph that took over. The increasing dependence on written communication manifested itself not only internally, but also in communications with the subject peoples. These had to be trained to run the burgeoning bureaucracy and to extend this communication to the people themselves. In Northern Ghana the first schools were established by the army and by an intrusive mission. More informal instruction was arranged in the remote areas. The DC of Lawra established a "Hausa" school for the sons of headmen, who were to act as messengers between their district headquarters and their father's villages. With the introduction of the system of Native Authorities in 1932, chiefs had their own clerks, with their own bureaucracies. And later still, pressure was exerted for chiefs themselves to be literate, so that they could participate in the full gamut of council activities, agenda, minutes, memoranda and returns.

Though it was an advantage for chiefs to be literate, for members of parliament, first elected in 1951, there was no alternative. Consequently it was the school teachers and the clerks who were the obvious candidates for these offices, which turned out to be of such high status in the community. Not only did they earn a salary which was initially much comparable to that of a British MP (and hence vastly in excess of their previous earnings, or indeed of what they were likely to get if they were not re-elected), but there were abundant opportunities for doing favours and receiving rewards. By local standards, MPs did immensely well and by 1965 there was often the most substantial house in the locality, though some officials such as the DC and the Clerk to the Council were beginning to catch up.

All this mobility had been made possible by literacy, by education. Indeed the effects are so dominating that a two-sector economy, trained partly in school, partly in the home, however desirable from the economic standpoint in phasing in the new developments, in maintaining a balance in educational investment, in keeping going the production of food, becomes virtually impossible. To accept as part of a deliberate national plan. As citizens, the non-literate population would be excluded from so much, at least on the political level. They cannot read, much less understand, the law; appearing in front of a magistrate or judge, they are offered a book or a "fetish" on which to swear; acceptance of the latter identifies them as inferior, as illiterate, as "pagan". When they receive a letter from a son working elsewhere as a labourer, they have to find, and probably reward, a literate to read it. If they want to reply, they may have to approach one of the letter-writers. When the newspapers arrive, they are again left out. Though in recent years the transistor radio has done something to lessen the divide, it can never bridge it altogether. When the taxman comes, he can cheat them with the receipt. Even the new religions are written, the priests literate; propagating the knowledge of the Book, which contains the secrets of life and death. They are at the mercy of a hostile world, geared to the man who can read and write. That is what development, modernization, independence, is all about.

Yet the world of the non-literate is not dead. His culture continues in a moulded form and even finds some favour among the new elite. And there is evidence too of some counter-reaction. In Northern Ghana there have been signs of a parents' strike, at least of increasing reluctance to send children to school. Despite the avenues that have been opened up for the successfully

literate, the standards of education required for new posts are continually rising as the output of secondary school, technical college and university increases. With a limited number of jobs available for those who do not go to secondary school, the boy finds himself having to scrape a living loading lorries or running messages. Meanwhile his himself is unwilling to return to the farm. Seeing this happen more and more, and seeing too the lack of help given by educated sons to their old or infirm parents, people in some areas are becoming increasingly reluctant to send their children to school; not only do schoolboys fail to contribute to their own livelihood, they fail to help later on, especially if they are unemployed. The consequence has been the closure of a number of rural schools.

How does the advent of literacy affect the quality of life at the village level? One general feature of writing dominates the process of its introduction into non-literate societies: its ability to preserve speech so that communication can take place over space and over time. It is a process of distancing, which affects the personal as well as the national level.

The way it does so can be seen from a community in Northern Ghana. The village of Birfo had had a primary school for some twenty years when



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Truly Van Eyck

URSULA HOFF and MARTIN DAVIES:
The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne

84p plus 84 plates. Brussels: Centre National de Recherches "Primitifs Flémands".

The new volume of the *Corpus de la peinture des siècles Pays-Bas médiévaux au quinzième siècle* deals with four paintings in the National Gallery of Victoria at Melbourne. Responsibility for it is divided between Ursula Hoff, who has sole responsibility for one entry, and Martin Davies, who has acted as co-author for the three other paintings. The great interest of the volume lies in its discussion of a putative work by Jan van Eyck, the Ince Blundell Madonna.

Though the authorship of this painting was doubted as early as 1893, it was accepted by Friedländer as a damaged work by Van Eyck, and retained a precarious place in the Van Eyck catalogue until 1957-58, when it was examined by Paul Coremans and by the staff of the National Gallery in London, and declared, on conclusive grounds which are fully stated in this book, to be an old copy from a lost original. Early doubts as to its authenticity had been concentrated in large part on the inscription, which was at one time regarded as a later insertion copied from an inscription on the original frame, but was correctly stated by a restorer, Zink, who cleaned the panel in 1922 before it was secured for Melbourne, to be coeval with the remainder of the painted surface.

This observation, which should logically have increased the scepticism that some scholars felt about the panel, led Friedländer only to withdraw the doubts he had expressed as to the authenticity of the inscription. A glass was added to the still-life on the window-ledge at this same time; according to a caption in the present book it was painted over the old and beneath the new layer of varnish. A version of the composition in a Roman private collection, formerly in a collection at Palermo, seems, like the Ince Blundell Madonna, to depend from a lost work by Jan van Eyck. The panel remained at Melbourne from 1932 till 1939, and was not therefore readily available for study, but thereafter it was shown at the World's Fair in New York, and was subsequently through the war years exhibited at Detroit, San Francisco, Cleveland and Cincinnati. Its authenticity was not, however, formally challenged till 1956, when it was shown in a loan exhibition at Bruges.

The other paintings discussed in the present book are the fine Memling "Man of Sorrows", of which another version exists in the Capilla Reel at Granada; a half-length Virgin and Child by Simon Moriconi from the Czartoryski collection at Cracow; and a "Triptych with the Miracles of Christ", in part by the Master of St Catherine and in part by three other hands. The scene of the Marriage at Cana in this last painting includes portraits of Adolph of Cleves, Philip the Good, Philip the Fair and Charles the Bold, which are here painstakingly investigated.

Mozart and the Masons

JACQUES CHAILLEY:
The Magic Flute, Masqued Opera
Translated by Herbert Weinstock
336pp. Gollancz. £3.75.

Jacques Chailley, hitherto known in this country mainly as the author of a very different kind of book, *40,000 Years of Music*, is Professor of the History of Music at the Sorbonne, Director of the Institut de Musicologie and Schola Cantorum, and author of books on the Bach Passions and on *Tristan und Isolde*. He is also a composer.

Professor Chailley writes as a non-Mason, and leans on several modern French books about Masonry. He naturally quotes them (and from time to time any sceptical reader will be left hoping that their descriptions of Masonic ritual are not drawn just from *The Magic Flute* itself). But the author remains aware that "nothing can take the place of study of primary sources"; and his book owes much of its importance to his amusing and use of these.

The Masonic "Secrets" of the opera may well be elementary; very possibly not more, and in important ways less, than the ABC of Viennese eighteenth-century Masonry known to Mozart at his initiation as an Apprentice on December 14, 1784. But Professor Chailley has made two striking new discoveries. First, that the "Masonry of Adoption" was a form of low-grade Masonry for women, and the author shows that the opening numbers of the opera—long assumed to be non-Masonic—are full of the symbolism of feminine initiation; a fact which should force us to rethink our views of the supposed change of plot, and the part played in the opera by the Queen and her Ladies. His second major insight is that the number five, once one looks for it, is almost as important in the musical patterning of the score as the familiar three—and is a feminine symbol. Mozart could sign himself Dr. ♀; women Masons signed themselves with five dots. O Isis (repetit, Isis) and Osiris, welchc Wonne!

To how many people had it previously occurred that the solemn opening chords of the overture should be understood as five rather than (or perhaps as well as) three? Or that their special rhythm recurs, not only when the Queen's final plot fails but when—with the Masonic sonority of bass-horns—Pamina kneels before Sarastro? Or that certain five-note rhythms, heard when the Ladies begin to simmer

over Tamino in G, "will be encountered from the beginning to the end of the score, and always when there is a reference, in one form or another, to the fulfilment or the cahalis of the Nocturnal Kingdom"? Or that the twelve slow bars that follow the opening chord of the overture are written in "a well-established tradition for describing darkness and chaos, a tradition going back at least to the Elemsis (1737) of Jean-Fery Rebel, who explained it at length in his own commentary", and can be connected with the harmonic peculiarities in the introduction to one of the first works that Mozart composed after his Masonic initiation in December 1784, the "Dissonant" Quartet (K 465)?

According to Professor Chailley—who here confirms the findings of other recent books—the music follows every twist of meaning. Mozart cared about the text, was quite possibly its principal planner, and (like Bach) did not regard it as beneath his dignity to convey a verbal text by illustrative tricks. So satisfying is the music, as music, that we often fail to suspect what Mozart was up to. There are constant allusions, the full effect of which requires recognition by the listener of the intended association; not just three and five, but when, for instance, the Men in Armour sing words derived (via Seltos) from a Hebrew Psalm, use a consciously borrowed chorale tune, "Aeh, Gutt, von Himmel sieh daren", and are accompanied by a quasi-figural based on a Kyrie—well-known to Mozart—by a Salzburg composer. Professor Chailley tentatively suggests that

one can form an idea of the extraordinary attempt at synthesis which, long before the commencement of the second half of the twentieth century, Mozart's admirable music illustrates; thus representing, consciously or unconsciously, an idea dear to Masonry, the union of cults and dogmas, beyond their particularisms, in a sort of philosophical super-religion, which Masonry tried to be.

Blemishes are fairly frequent, but minor; enough to keep the reader alert, without significantly detracting from the book's value. The wind chords in the middle of the overture, and during the spoken scene at the beginning of Act Two, are described as "anapestic" (an anapest is short-short-long, the opposite of a dactyl); the rarer short-long-long is an anapest. Professor Chailley is unaware that his Psalm XI is the Hebrew (and Anglican) Psalm

XII. The discussion of Masonic music suddenly peters out. In the best of symbolic meanings, plain meanings are sometimes overlooked. Professor Chailley gets into a muddle about Pamina's attempted suicide, ignoring the effect on a Masonic soul of the D minor key, who explicitly recalls—whether the dagger is the mother gave her, on the ground that "the text says so". Pamina's trial by affixing to be a cross, but should have been discussed as such, alternative solutions (including six of the B flat trio) and the end of each. Pamina's trial at the end of the second quarter surely be a fib ("Ich lüg dich Ohnmacht"). What is said of Pamina's trial is mainly implied. Ignatz von Born was one of those who quitted Viennese Masonry 1786 (one suspects at various times that Professor Chailley, though includes Otto Rommel's was in his book-list, did not call for it). Relevant non-Masonic points, some of which would have helped the author's thesis, are looked.

Even so, this is an essential book of talking-points for performers of the opera, for keepers of the opera, for music students. There are many places, with a special mention, and twelve facing pages in the text. The author's is impeccably lucid and concise, and his book is not likely to be superseded until its abundant material has been assimilated.

The English edition is better than the French and the index, unlike the latter, is full. The French paperback (Paris: Librairie 24, 20fr) will be preferred by readers. Renderings such as "many authors?" for "Un auteur qu'on ne voit pas", "lose many puns, meanings of the libretto are lost from a free translation for goers, and are not accurate enough for what is in substance a scholarly work. I hardly feel less often than in the French, and some odder sentences contain subtle howlers—no transliterations, "dell" (instead of "challenge"), "dell". To say, of the Ladies, they were "originally intended to have been five" is not what the author said or meant ("Nous ne leur aurions pas donné de titre leur nombre est de quatre, mais il leur en faut cinq"). The careful reader of the English edition will find the author's minor point, it may be his fault.

BOOKS AND THE BBC—2

Novels with no author

BY DAVID WADE

RADIO HAS already produced its *War and Peace*. Just over two years ago it launched what is said to be the most complete adaptation of the classic ever attempted: twenty-one-hour episodes at weekly intervals. This occasion was celebrated by a press reception for which producers, adapters, actors and actresses turned out in a strength unequalled in my experience, either before or since. Television is to launch its own version this autumn, the same number of episodes, but each of forty-five minutes. Again this has all the makings of a unique event: immense pains have been taken over the script, prepared by one of television's most expert hands, Jack Pulman; his version of *The War and Peace* may be recalled, gave an excellent account of the original. As with radio, production is on a grand scale; in some ways a large, carefully chosen cast, several producers, and much work with disc and tape; for television the east decamps to Yugoslavia and retains a sizable contingent of Tito's army, dressed up as Russians and as French. Both arms of broadcasting are coy about the cost: radio may have got away with £12,000; television, barely with twenty times as much. In either case an immense book has been the signal for immense effort, inspired by the knowledge that this is a right and proper thing to do and that, moreover, there is every possibility of attracting a large and increasing audience as the serial goes on.

I have suggested that broadening the book to radio for ready-made producers of worth, as a way of deferring oblivion. To say that *War and Peace* illustrates this may seem to be cheating: one thinks of the book as a special case, a literary Everest, for which mountainous efforts are *de rigueur*; but all mountains, and even hills, produce a similar effect—it is a good idea to climb them and we shall be the better for having done so. The attention given to Tolstoy seems to me the same, writ large, as that which television has given recently to Turgenev or to Mrs Gaskell; not, to be fair, the search for solid achievement can only have been one of the incentives for tackling them. Anyone who followed *Wives and Daughters* must also have felt the affection and delight, the expertise in matters of period, and the sensitivity to its manners and to character. They do not often draw huge audiences, these classic serials—although that statement should be qualified: for television "not a huge audience" means two million. Even so, this is a sizable part of the organisation; it cannot be ignored.

So far as radio is concerned, its *War and Peace* also overtopped the general run of adaptations of classics, but by about the same margin as Mont Blanc exceeds Suoy Hill. That is to say, too much; and from sound broadcasting one receives the slightly disagreeable impression these days that the serial has become routine; few people delight in it unduly, and what a lot of money is spent. To put the attraction of this good material to radio may be that, like the best composite-grown wholemeal loaf, you can dish it up with not much butter, less jam, and a continental flair in the knowledge that the listeners are not going to starve. But let us get back to *War and Peace* and examine the treatment which has been and is going to be meted out to it by loudspeaker and by screen.

When I talked to him, Jack Pulman pointed out that television is a medium particularly suited to the

epic: the reason, he suggested, was that it can imitate the time-scale of the original. The cinema in its assaults on *War and Peace* must squeeze it into two parts or most, lasting not more than seven or eight hours; it will find it very hard indeed to recreate the sense of time involved in the novel itself—even if gobbled—imposes on its reader. Television, by stretching it over four or five months, is able to create the effect of events spread out in time. If radio is any guide, Mr Pulman will turn out to be right: *War and Peace* in sound had much of the novel's time-spread about it. Had I relied on my own experience of viewing and listening, however, I should have said that there is always a contrary tendency—particularly on television—to reduce the novel to a procession of events. *Wives and Daughters* was mostly a joy, but there were times when it was only too apparent that seven hundred pages into six episodes will not go: in more than one of them the viewer found himself catapulted through a succession of snapshot scenes, and an essentially leisurely book suddenly began to look like a strip cartoon.

Keeping up the supply

The pressures are obviously immense. Cost is one of them: on television, I am told, the bill per episode may run to £15,000; much less on radio, but then so is the budget. Who is going to notice if you rush things just a bit? Who is going to turn off (or over) if you don't? And after all, how long is it all for? My own experience derives principally from radio, with only minor brushes with television, but these suggest the same thing applies: in any broadening venture at the production end there is always just so much money and just so much time. The conscientious producer or director does his very best with what he has, but at the back of his mind (and those of the technicians and actors) is the unspoken knowledge that this is just one item in a never-ending supply line. To repeat: its destiny is to be deep-frozen on magnetic tape, broadcast out on the appointed day, electronically thawed and digested and dispersed. Its audience will absorb it and that will be that. Finis. End of lunch: what's for supper? The voracious eye, the slightly less voracious ear, is always there; waiting to be fed. There is no time to be perfect.

I said in my previous article that another trait of eye-less, again of ear) is adoration of the personality, and this, as it turns out, can actually reverse the tendency to hurry things: the television *Foray* saga continued for twenty-six episodes, for six months, and in that time, far from getting bored, the audience increased: it rose from eight million to seventeen. Those who know and love their English literature often find this hard to take: here is a work, they argue, demonstrably second-rate—it had no right to do so well, but since it did that merely goes to prove the perilous state of television. It goes to prove the state, but not necessarily its parousness: dramatization of a novel for either arm of broadcasting reduces the participation of its author more or less drastically, and this flattens out what one can learn of literary stature. Indeed to many who have met the two only on the television, Galsworthy no doubt appears a greater

figure than, say, Henry James. The reason for this topsy-turvy judgment is plain: Galsworthy put before his audience a gallery of personalities which linked the work from end to end; the audience grew to like or—just as binding—hate them very much. This occurs elsewhere in television: every series hopes to profit by it. People follow *Safely, Safely* just as much for Barlow and for Watt as for the story-line. It will be interesting to see how well this works when the Trollope "political" novels reach the screen, again for half a year.

Not surprisingly, the need for personalities has helped to shape the television *War and Peace*. The book opens with Ann Scherer's soirée, which to the reader is no obstacle at all. In the most recent film version, Bondarchuk keeps the novel's opening, and those who saw it may have found, as I did, that it was extremely difficult to make out what was happening. This kind of sequence is as bad for television: the small screen is very good at faces and fine shades of expression; it hates the profane crowd. Mr Pulman's way of dealing with this has been in put off Anna Scherer until later; his adaptation opens with the Rostovs' name-day; by a little juggling he also brings in Pierre Bezukhov. In other words, by the end of the first episode he has introduced all the major and most sympathetic figures, and these will stay until the end. The assumptions are straightforward: as with James and Galsworthy, most people who see *War and Peace* will have read no Tolstoy. As literature, he is nothing to them. The expert adapter cannot avoid this, but he can mitigate it. He can salvage a prodigious amount by presenting it in an acceptable format: attractive personalities first, a good story second. If this seems depressing, take heart: the indications are that many people who follow classic serials subsequently investigate the novel.

War and Peace approximates to Scripture, so Mr Pulman expects his methods to upset a lot of people: there will be charges of tampering with the text. He is resigned and even unrepentant. His argument is, roughly, that if you know the problems, which those complaining generally do not, you will understand that there is no way of dramatizing without tampering; you must keep your viewer or, by the rules of the game, you have failed. The price of faithful adherence to Tolstoy's sequence would have been the virtual certainty that you would lose your audience in tens of thousands during episode one and never get it back. Tolstoy, or whoever it may be, must be interpreted—taken to pieces, ideally rediscovered, put together again—in terms of television; not television in terms of Tolstoy. Is that balance necessary? I do not know, but the body—broadcasting and its audience—seems remarkably, only too humanly, resolute about what it will and will not accept.

It is interesting that radio had no difficulty opening its *War and Peace* as Tolstoy does; or nearly so. One might have thought that on sound alone the movement of the serial would have been even more befuddling; but no. Perhaps the screen presents, the eye tries to extract, so much information that very little registers; the content of a minute's sound is less, and more easily assimilated. The difference between the radio opening and the book's is also interesting: for the first minute we heard Denys Hawthorne in the part of Tolstoy, the narrator; and the points to



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HMSO BOOKS

Where Greco meets Indo

BENJAMIN ROWLAND and FRANCES RICE:
Art in Afghanistan
Objects from the Kabul Museum.
93pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £10.

Those of us who have had no occasion to go to Kabul recently have been able to see many of the treasures of the Kabul Museum in travelling exhibitions displayed in Europe and the USA; which have included many of the objects photographed in this volume. Art in Afghanistan—at any rate as represented in this collection—is anything but a consistently developing indigenous tradition. Straddling one of the great trade routes of the ancient world, the sites of Afghanistan have yielded not only locally-made objects, sculptures and paintings in styles deriving from the great civilised centres of the classical world—Greece and Rome, Persia and India—but also some astonishingly early objects, some of which are imported from these centres or made by highly skilled immigrant craftsmen.

The first objects in the volume are the pots and clay goddesses from Mundigak in vigorous styles related to those of the Indus Valley culture of Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Greek coins follow, and these include the series of the Greek rulers of Bactria after Alexander, thought by W. W. Tarn to be the finest portrait coins of the Greek world. One variety, the double decadrachms of Amyntas, are also the largest Greek coins in existence. The Indian ivories of the Bagram treasure are unique, a collection reproducing in miniature the triumphs of Indian sculpture of the first and second centuries AD. Their quality is almost matched by the Roman glass found with them. The plaster embelmas from Greek silver and the small bronzes, probably from Alexandria, are more commonplace, apart from the unique bronze dish described by Benjamin Rowland as a "fish-mobile", with an ingenious mechanism to make the fish wave their fins.

Buddhist art produced in Afghanistan follows. The stucco figures from Hadda, characterized by Benjamin Rowland as "Roman-Gothic", and the even more refined later style from Fomduklaian are well represented in the illustrations; the tradition of Buddhist well-painting, however, is exemplified only by a few examples in the Museum. Also illustrated are the early medieval Hindu marbles from Sirikh Kot, in a northern Indian style possibly imported from Kashmir, as well as Islamic metalwork, bronze objects and ceramics mostly of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and the pagan wooden statues of Kufriana, which were being made up to the conquest of this territory to Islam in 1000. The period between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which much of the modern culture of Afghanistan has taken shape, appears to be unrepresented by significant objects in the Museum holdings.

Professor Rowland has been concerned with the intermingling of Indo-Buddhist and Greco-Buddhist traditions and is as well as anyone to write about it. He has a rich hitch-potch. The series of objects that forms his introductory chapter, which he has not the space to do, is his interpretation, but they are acceptable, but they are not worthy of careful consideration. His text can be read as a brief and lucid guide to a realm of art for the tourist making an Afghan holiday, but it is not a guide to the art of Afghanistan. Some of the photographs are rather out of focus, and the quality of the reproduction is not as good as that of the original. But many of the illustrations are of a high quality, and the book is a valuable addition to the literature on the art of Afghanistan.

GOLLANCZ

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GOLLANCZ

To the Editor

Books and the BBC

Sir—I have been my privilege, over quite a number of years, to be involved in the affairs of both "media", and thus I have an especial interest in David Wade's first article (May 5). I am a little regret that his title should be "The limits of the electronic media" in relation to the book rather than the possibilities. I have learned one lesson fairly quickly from my experience, it was of the dependence of the "electronic media" upon the literacy of its adherents. The impact and purposes of public service broadcasting (which is, or should be, very much more than a catch-all, and within the precision of words can be relevant only to an authority such as the BBC) have to be conditioned to the hopefully assumed ability of its audience to understand the meaning and nuance of words. This is the prerequisite of any effective programme, whether by radio or television. I have never felt that broadcasting on books (or reading) have been or should be in competition. What I believe to have happened is that, since the advent of "broadcasting", people who used to read a lot tend to read less, but that the minds of very many more, who never or seldom read at all, are now expanded and enlightened by what they see and hear and consequently are led to further reading.

In all my time with the BBC, as one of its governors, there was a constant awareness of the need for good "book" programmes, both for radio and for television, but the problems were and are considerable and no experimentation has yet, I think, proved wholly successful.

One possibility from the earlier days of radio has not been followed up by television. An older generation will remember Sir Walford Davies's series "Music and the Ordinary Listener". It is to be doubted if my series has ever so triumphantly achieved its purpose. It literally created a music-loving nation and evoked a response which time has quickened and invigorated.

I have long felt that a similar sort of programme on the meaning of "words" could serve an almost greater purpose but the problems, admittedly, are many. One such television programme, loosely deriving from this series, was made in 1964, and some few years ago was a word-by-word explanation of Blake's "The Tiger". It was widely applauded and it is a pity that so far there has been no further attempt to deal in this way with what, after all, is a basic requirement of society—a reverence for and an exact, appreciation of words which, when strung together, dictate action and inform reflection.

I suggest that in his impressive and important study Mr Wade should be persuaded to regard more the possibilities than the limitations. Come what may the medium is here to stay and in rapidly developing circles of gadgetry.

ROBERT LUSTY,
Hutchinson Publishing Group Ltd,
1 Fitzroy Square, London W1.

Mihajlovic

Sir—I was head of the SOE Unit dealing with Yugoslavia during those months in 1943 when a British decision was made to give exclusive aid to Tito. In July 1944 I brought General Velebit, Tito's representative, to London, which was the first contact in London between the British and the Partisans. After my arrival in London, with General Velebit, was appointed, I was

still a soldier, as second-in-command to the British Embassy to Yugoslavia which stayed in London until the relief of Belgrade. (The reason for this appointment was that the British Ambassador in Yugoslavia, Sir Ralph Stephenson, knew King Peter and the Government in exile and I, through my SOE duties, knew a little about the Partisans.) I have to give this preliminary paragraph to show that I was in the unusual position of seeing both sides of this question.

It seems to me that there are a number of points that have not been sufficiently stressed in your correspondence. (1) The British Embassy to Yugoslavia, King Peter of Yugoslavia, the Government in exile of Yugoslavia, who had indeed appointed Mihajlovic as their War Minister, were in London. In these circumstances only the most overwhelming and demonstrable proof that it was in the Allied interests to support Tito exclusively could conceivably have brought about this change.

(2) During early 1943 the Allied position was precarious. Even after our landing in Italy, progress up the leg of Italy was slow. It was of immense military importance for the British and American forces in Italy that large numbers of German divisions should be contained in Yugoslavia. These German divisions, if unrequired in Yugoslavia, would have been available to the Nazis as reinforcements against the British and American troops.

(3) As head of the SOE Unit dealing with Yugoslavia, I automatically received the reports from our missions with Mihajlovic and with Tito. My own reports were sent to the head of SOE in London. There was no exception to this arrangement. Shortly after the middle of 1943 the chief of the British Forces Egypt, I think General Malland Wilson, asked the head of SOE in Cairo for a report on Yugoslavia. It was instructed to prepare this report. In the British Army there is an agreed formula for presenting reports to senior officers. Fortunately, as I had been to Staff College, I knew this formula. I mention this only because it meant that my document had not to be rewritten and I therefore knew the exact details which were presented to the British Generals.

After giving the title of my document I summarized as objectively as possible, point by point, the evidence at my disposal. This formula recommends that the last paragraph, which is the conclusion or plan, should be as brief as possible. After nearly thirty years I cannot remember every piece of evidence which was then in front of me but my last paragraph ran: "Case supplies to Mihajlovic forthwith." On what evidence was this conclusion reached?

(a) I had sources, including but not other than coded material, which I was not permitted to reveal even to my senior officers (I did not do so then and I have never done so since). This, in fact, proved no major disadvantage, as these sources confirmed the evidence I had from other sources I was permitted to reveal.

(b) I had the reports of the SOE missions with the Partisans, including of course those of F. W. Deakin who was at Tito's headquarters. (This part of my document was totally confirmed, at the end of 1943 by an excellent report written by Fitzroy Maclean, a Conservative MP, and based, of course, on first hand evidence, as he was by then head of the British mission with Tito.)

(c) Equally important were the reports sent in by our missions with Mihajlovic.

(d) Of extreme importance was the availability of aerial photographs.

(e) The above evidence showed that the vast bulk of the German forces was in those parts of Yugoslavia where the

Partisans were active and thin on the ground in those parts of Yugoslavia occupied by Mihajlovic and his army. My report, I think, convinced the head of SOE in Cairo. After this report Mihajlovic was asked to prove that he was willing to attack the Germans, and when his reaction was unsatisfactory, supplies to him did, in fact, cease. As this report was addressed to the military authorities and not to SOE in London, I presume it still exists in the military archives. If Dame Rebecca West believes that our main job was to defeat the Nazis and not to play politics, possibly she would have found my report convincing.

(4) Mihajlovic: I can easily believe that in 1936 Dame Rebecca was told that Mihajlovic was anti-Nazi. I find it rather absurd that when Yugoslavia was attacked by the Nazis a professional soldier in the Yugoslav army was against the enemy. I can accept the pleasant remarks of Colonel Bailey about Mihajlovic; but they are irrelevant. The evidence seems to show that Mihajlovic, a Pan-Serb, at some date decided that the final conflict in Yugoslavia would be between his forces and those of the Partisans; he therefore considered that he should not disavow his forces by helping the Germans but conserve them for the final conflict with the Partisans. This brought about a tacit understanding between Mihajlovic's Cetniks and the Nazis. There were indeed skirmishes between the Cetniks and the Partisans. Had this been encouraged by the British, supplying further arms to Mihajlovic, it would have played straight into the hands of the Nazis and permitted them to withdraw German forces for activities elsewhere. The decision of Mihajlovic to a British military point of view was disastrous. From the point of view of Mihajlovic's Cetniks, it was also disastrous: there was no Yugoslav desire to achieve freedom from the Nazi aggressor. This meant inevitably that many Yugoslavs, in no sense communists, joined those groups which were actively fighting the Germans: these were the Partisans, even followers of Mihajlovic changed sides when they were convinced that this was the only method of fighting the Nazis.

(5) The suggestion that Churchill came to a decision to hand over Yugoslavia to Stalin is stupid. As late as the autumn of 1944 Churchill wanted to arrange through the Prime Minister of the Government in exile a rapprochement between King Peter and Tito.

(6) Dame Rebecca's flippant remark that the way to get on was to be sent to Tito makes no sense. In those months of 1943 when the decisions were made almost nobody had heard of Tito. Soldiers who volunteered for parachuting into enemy-occupied countries did not, in the case of the Balkans, normally decide themselves even which country they would be sent to. (When I volunteered for this activity I was scheduled to be parachuted to Mihajlovic's army to a minor physical defect I was unable to pass the parachute examination and was therefore, owing to previous intelligence experience, appointed the head of the SOE Yugoslav Unit.)

(7) If it is accepted that the object was to defeat the Nazis, a correct decision was made. It was not a minor decision. Regrettably, I have forgotten what I then knew—the number of German divisions in Yugoslavia. The German forces in Yugoslavia were immense: not only in numbers, but in quality. Including one of the few crack fully motorized divisions. Close colleagues of Tito in the late months of 1943 and the early months of 1944, General Velebit, Colonel Miletic, Colonel Djedjic, Colonel Milutinovic and Colonel Popovic (not General Kopačević) referred to me as "Colonel Five Percent", meaning I realized which side of the bread the Allied cause was buttered; that is to say that Partisan military activity with overwhelming

courage played a major part in the final defeat of the Nazis. What helped Tito one can equally accurately say the Allied war effort was that "Truth will out".

GORDON FRASER,
The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, London SW1.

Sir—With regard to the Mihajlovic-Tito controversy one point seems particularly sad. This is the failure of the military archives. If Dame Rebecca West believes that our main job was to defeat the Nazis and not to play politics, possibly she would have found my report convincing.

U. J. LORING,
6 Middleton Grove, London NW7.

Sir—As Dame Rebecca West has it in for Oxford dons—and now Cambridge ones (May 5)—I will take the precaution of not using college writing paper. It appears to me, as an untrained historian, that what Dame Rebecca West is saying is that those who were not there are better witnesses than those who were there.

RICHARD COBB,
59 Victoria Road, Oxford.

Sir—Several contributors to this debate (April 14, 21 and 28) have referred to the "Mihajlovic myth", to his "collaboration" with the Axis, and to his "unwillingness to fight the invaders of his country". Your readers may be interested to know that the Wehrmacht undertook more operations to catch Mihajlovic than Tito, and that various German military commands offered a prize on more occasions for the capture of the Cetnik leader than for that of his better-known rival.

IVAN AVAKUMOVIC,
Department of History, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.

The State of English

Sir—Luckless Mr Page (April 28)—too late for Jonathan Miller's Cambridge and too early for David Frost's. If these are the names by which it is natural for him to invoke the place, no wonder he had little time for the "isolated, half-comic" Dr Leavis. No wonder he found more entertaining "Hugh Sykes Davies illustrating nineteenth-century teapots sailing style".

The real paradox is that the features of Cambridge English that Mr Page complains of are the very features that the long list of names at the end of the First—these are just the things that Dr Leavis has himself spoken out against across the years. Perhaps a reason for the "isolation"?

Two matters arise. Firstly, does Mr Page think that his unsatisfactory Cambridge education qualifies or disqualifies him as a university teacher of English? Secondly, it would be very much to the point if he could describe the obviously much superior way in which the subject is taught at Simon Fraser. It would be good to know how the change is making out, undisturbed by the "distinctive provincial accent" of Dr Leavis, unshadowed by the ghosts of Chaucer, Milton or Wordsworth, suffering from the inter-war talk show man and the Barnaby of the next dice jockey.

ANTHONY BEAL,
24 Loom Lane, Radlett, Hertfordshire.

Sir Philip Sidney

Sir—I hope that Dr Juel-Jensen (April 28) and Mr Buxton (March 24, April 14), who protest their preoccupation with "accuracy" in transcription, will therefore find the generosity of me to accept the correction of Mr Buxton's text which has already been made by others. This is, in my opinion, no doubt whatsoever that Mr Davids (April 7, April 28) and Dr Osborn (as reported by Mr Mensbridge, April 14) are correct to read "with sunny" in the letter which follows "of could be to be, but the next graphy must be a and not be". In Mensbridge's hand, at this point to its development, it has a pronounced "b" in form, a boldly angled and curved, never reducing elsewhere to this simple weak arc. If we may judge by the count he made, Mr Buxton, in his examination of occurrences of the word "with", has unfortunately and wrongly ignored the word where it appears in combination ("without") the next letter; he seems also to have failed to take account of Mensbridge's hand in those other items in the manuscript which seem to be of similar date. All the features of the disputed word can be found in a number of readings which support "with", and in none which support "with".

Mr Buxton, who should perhaps note that "an" is a familiarly "with" hands, is, of course, "by" looking

at them, argues further that the subscription is not an imitation of Sidney's hand. It is apparent from the reproduction in the TLS that the writing is changed in the hand, and the most obvious alterations are all features which bring it nearer to Sidney's practice: (1) the "C" which is a "C" with a loop, (2) the "f" which is a "f" with a loop, (3) the "s" which is a "s" with a loop, (4) the "t" which is a "t" with a loop, (5) the "l" which is a "l" with a loop, (6) the "d" which is a "d" with a loop, (7) the "n" which is a "n" with a loop, (8) the "m" which is a "m" with a loop, (9) the "h" which is a "h" with a loop, (10) the "e" which is a "e" with a loop, (11) the "i" which is a "i" with a loop, (12) the "o" which is a "o" with a loop, (13) the "u" which is a "u" with a loop, (14) the "a" which is a "a" with a loop, (15) the "g" which is a "g" with a loop, (16) the "k" which is a "k" with a loop, (17) the "j" which is a "j" with a loop, (18) the "p" which is a "p" with a loop, (19) the "q" which is a "q" with a loop, (20) the "r" which is a "r" with a loop, (21) 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The Emperor who hated his job

RUBIN SEAGER:
Tiberius
300pp. Fyre Methuen £5.25.

Tiberius was certainly due for re-appraisal, for it is more than forty years since Frank Burr Marsh's *Tiberius* emerged from Texas, a ponderous figure. Since then, from Spain, medical and psychological expertise, drawing its deductions from such surprising major premises as that tall left-handed men are impotent, has produced a very curious Tiberius indeed. The Rumanian scholar Professor Pippidi published invaluable *Studii* but, alas, has never written what would have been an excellent biography. Indeed it may well be held that the best account of Tiberius comes from Capri itself, the short essay of Norman Douglas in his *Capri*, published in 1931.

Now it is the turn of Liverpool and Robin Seager, who writes well and clearly, if sometimes in a rather deadpan manner. His picture of Tiberius, an Emperor who hated his

job, is confident and, in its general lines, the right one; but while Tacitus malice and distortion produced a fascinating monster, this just appraisal produces, it must be confessed, a somewhat tedious prince.

Though he describes Tiberius's earlier life, it is naturally Tiberius the ruler who commands Mr Seager's interest. The account of Tiberius's behaviour, and the reaction to it, at the accession debate is admirable: "What the senators would not or could not understand was that his feelings were so strong he could not give quickly and gracefully, but was compelled by his longing for the task that was forced on him to give vent to all his bitterness."

Mr Seager thinks that Tiberius's son, Drusus, may well not have been murdered, whether by his wife, Sejanus, or anybody else; but this very sensible discussion in the context of Drusus's death makes for difficulty in the understanding of the following eight years because, while it is evident that there was no

suspicion of murder during that time and no suspicion that Sejanus was—if indeed he was—the lover of Drusus's widow (Livius would have known quickly enough if there had been), the reader, like the reader of Tacitus, having been introduced to the idea, cannot easily put it out of his mind.

Sejanus's control of Tiberius is grimly described; the mystery of his sudden overthrow remains. That Tiberius after that prostrated, as old men do, and was hardly sane, seems undeniable.

Tiberius is profusely illustrated and, in consequence, expensive. Though it avoids discussion of the complicated issues with which ancient historians concern themselves, it refers the reader to such discussions, and there is a very full bibliography.

Tiberius's rule, though no disaster for the Roman empire, was a disaster for the upper classes of Roman society, a disaster for the imperial family and a disaster for Tiberius himself. For the upper classes,

treacherous—if frightened—sympathies, it is hard to feel sympathy, for, without any imperial encouragement, they were actively self-destructive. For Tiberius it is easy to feel sympathy: successor, and loyal successor, to a man who had never concealed his dislike for him (a dislike which, presumably, had its reasonable grounds) and who ruined his married life: a toper, a fatalist, a Stoic, a republican made emperor.

His notorious dissimulation is largely a red herring. Mr Seager writes: but is it? Velleius apart, it is a quality attested by all our sources.

Tiberius was an uncomfortable man, a bundle of complexes, very difficult to understand. Dissimulation was a notorious quality of Pompey too, and Tiberius and Pompey had a great deal in common. Both (like Marius) were confident in military command, brilliant generals, yet at sea in politics and in the company of politicians; both were beset by a morbid terror of assassination. And, for all his deep sense of public responsibility, Tiberius was capable of utter irre-

sponsibility, of running away from his duties, when he could find any. Rhodes in Augustus's lifetime, above all, when as emperor he abandoned Rome for Capri in his absence, could the emperor give a decision on one day or another?

A historian's biography of Tiberius, as of any other Emperor, is to be a chronologically and politically history of his rule, never fully illuminating the character of the man himself, because the John Company transferred power to the British crown.

The power of print has certainly been demonstrated in India during the past half century. The liberal intelligentsia has been able to create, in all the languages of India, enough literature on all conceivable subjects to integrate into the consciousness of peoples outside the orbit of Western technology much of the knowledge gathered in the world during the past 200 years. In fact, it was the intelligentsia which, by exploiting the intense awareness of the values of democracy, egalitarianism and progress acquired through the printed word, was able to achieve the transfer of political power from British to Indian hands.

Twenty per cent of the population of India became literate through the printing of a pool of printed words; this 20 per cent successfully introduced the modern movement into a basically feudal society, then what may not the Indian people do when they become 100 per cent literate and use the printed word to further their needs and interests of contemporary man? One need not speculate about such an eventually better world as we can see clearly how much has been gained through the printed word in our country since the turn of the century. There is therefore little doubt among the most lively minds of India about its power in advancing those processes of civilisation which have involved the world since the atomic age.

The question of man's growth cannot, however, be related to the printed word in a merely mechanical or statistical manner. For, apart from information about the world, which may be the foundation of human awareness, two other factors seem to arise, especially in the Indian view of the development of human personality: knowledge and wisdom. There is an aphorism of the supposedly god-inspired utterances of the sacred *Vedas* (2500-1000 BC) which says: "Ideas for the welfare of man; images of wood and stones for the ignorant: Contentment for the wise."

Thus, if we regard the evolution of man through the stages of information and knowledge to wisdom as an integral process, and give value to each of these factors in growth, then the printed word is only one factor. It needs to be supplemented by a more elaborate understanding of facts and ideas provided by several media. And the totality of awareness may lead to the deeper process of experience through both inward and outer faculties, which may be called the attainment of wisdom. From this point of view, it would seem that we have hardly yet begun the process of evolving the human personality though the printed word has created a vast fund of knowledge.

This paradox is often apparent in India when we look at our past. Although the printed word was not available until a hundred years ago, there was no lack of knowledge in the three thousand years of known history. And, surprisingly enough, the wisest men in the world lived there, from the philosophers of the *Upanishads*, to the prophets like the Buddha, the medieval sages, mystics, poets and saints. The population of illiterates, both in the Stone Age as well as the Iron Age, was enormous. The tradition of the oral transmission of knowledge, which has been the moral story, of

responsibility, of running away from his duties, when he could find any. Rhodes in Augustus's lifetime, above all, when as emperor he abandoned Rome for Capri in his absence, could the emperor give a decision on one day or another?

A historian's biography of Tiberius, as of any other Emperor, is to be a chronologically and politically history of his rule, never fully illuminating the character of the man himself, because the John Company transferred power to the British crown.

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THE POWER OF PRINT—3

By mouth or by book

BY MULK RAJ ANAND

myth and legend, which shows evidence of the highest culture. The age of print may, perhaps, have led to more external progress, but it may also have frightened off the shy birds of sensibility, of instinctive wisdom and spiritual experience, which are India's precious cultural heritage.

The question arises: is print culture likely to drive out oral culture? This problem is intricate, and we cannot simplify the answer. First of all, we must ask: how much of each surviving oral culture is relevant to the contemporary world? And is the culture of the printed word always so much more useful than oral cultures should be allowed to disappear, through the promotion of literacy?

Such a problem must be looked at within the wider context of the rivalry between those cultures, which offer eternal answers to man's problems, to modern industrial civilisation which is essentially historical in its perspective and implies progress both in man's inner growth and his mastery of the environment. In so far as India has come into the orbit of the third industrial revolution, and opted for a political system based on democracy—a socialist pattern of society, with a humanist ideal of mankind's destiny—it may be said that we have accepted the time-bound view of historical development, even though many of our people still live through the inherited consciousness of eternal truths.

As there is an undeciphered war between the modernists and the eternalists, I would like to explain what I believe to be inevitable: the tacit acceptance of a basic historical perspective, which will involve the extension of the printed word and other agencies for intellectual growth in the future.

The sway of the gods

I am inclined to divide Indian culture in terms of the dominant emphasis of three different concepts from the past. The first era seems to have witnessed the universal sway of the gods. The Supreme God, Brahma, or the One, was supposed to have created the world when desire arose in his heart. And the One became the Many. In this view, the Many (which means humanity) were supposed to have the corresponding desire to dissolve their multiplicity and, through yoga worship, attain Oneness with the Supreme. So comprehensive was the hold of this concept that the Supreme God, in all his various incarnations, based on attributes, became the "unknown fate", determining the lives of men and women in every detail. The metaphysical implications of this philosophy entered, via religious ritual, into every area of human activity, so that, from the purification of the body to the melody of sacred verses, from the morning ablutions, through the contemplation of the gods in the temples, until sleep came at night, every breath was breathed as a remembrance of God.

In the contemplation of symbols, such as the lotus, men are supposed to extend their awareness from the flower petals outwards, until the image of the flower disappears and the lotus becomes a part of the

vast spaces beyond. Man is part of the cosmos, which is God.

After the first two thousand years of our recorded history, the sway of the gods was replaced by the god-king or feudal lord. But the hangover of the "unknown fate", which determined everything in life, remained among the populace, except for those who recognized that real power was being exercised by earthly monarchs.

Gautama, the Buddha, began in the sixth century BC to question the Supreme God or "unknown fate". He shifted the emphasis to man himself, and the evil in human beings that brought pain, from which man had to liberate himself by following the eightfold path of righteousness. Believers in the humanism of Buddha joined issue with the transcendental egoists of Hinduism. And, for more than a thousand years, this battle of ideas continued, until Buddhism had yielded to the revival of personal gods in Brahmanism. But Buddhist humanism remained as a sediment and there was much debate about the ideas of the medieval Hindu saints, as well as about the democratic concept which Islam brought in in the tenth century of men's equality in the sight of God.

Around the fifteenth century, the weaver poet Kabir and the village accountant's son, Guru Nanak, attacked the polytheism of the Hindus and inspired popular movements which questioned the various "unknown fates", as well as the king (who had annexed divine sanctions), and initiated a renaissance of very wide significance. The Mughal emperor, Akbar, who had absorbed the influence of the Italian Renaissance, furthered the process of free thought in India and, by a series of discreet, pragmatic measures, prompted self-consciousness in the intelligentsia.

This medieval shift from the gods to man was met with a revival of orthodoxy among Hindus and Muslims. But the belief in the "unknown fate" of evil in men survived as a second layer of residual feeling. And when the impact of the West, through the arrival of Jesuit missionaries from Portugal, as well as the maritime power of Western traders, began to make itself felt, a new "unknown fate" seemed to enter people's daily calculations. This was the "unknown fate" of money, which began to dominate everyday life. The prices of the grain that was cultivated in the village or of the cloth woven in the small town, and of the raw materials which were produced in every corner of the land, were determined in the markets of the West. In fact, when the British Parliament passed a law banning the import of finished fabrics into Great Britain, half a million weavers died in Decca, and their dependants felt that perhaps Allah was no longer in Mecca but lived somewhere beyond the seas in London. Since then, when prices rise or fall, people attribute the fluctuations to the will of the god known as the Cash Nexus.

Although the "unknown fate" of the age of the gods and the medieval "unknown fate" of the evil in man remain as sanctions among the vast majority of Indians, more and more the "unknown fate" of cash nexus dominates a people introduced by political and economic democracy

into world civilization. It is likely, then, that the fundamental forms of the new world civilization based on economic power will prevail. The relevant ideas of the past, even myths and legends, will be absorbed into the world of print. But the ideologies of the future may be based increasingly on the humanism implicit in the idea of the contemporary welfare state, which seems to imply the worship of man, and a consideration of his needs and interests.

The worship of knowledge

Oral culture may thus pass through the sieve of the printed word and become part of print culture. This process may be hastened, or delayed, according to the way in which science and technology are accepted by the peoples of the world. They, by their own inherent logic, obliterate many of the primitivist and even profound intu-

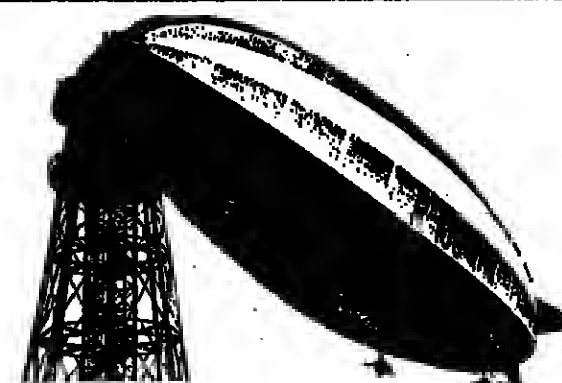
tions of the older philosophies and religions and make knowledge the arbiter of human destiny. Nothing can hold up this process short of the complete destruction of technology through nuclear war.

However, the historical process may involve a prolonged battle between the various ideas, myths and legends which survive from the past and the ideas of the modern world. And, unless a new myth of man himself, as the maker of his own destiny, begins to prevail, as a comprehensive sanction, certain tensions, anomalies and contradictions between oral culture and print culture will remain.

What are these tensions? There can be no piecemeal answer to this question, because there is no single direction of advance, or absolute philosophy or religion, which can dictate human growth. But, if we envisage the common ideal of the release in the individual of his full potential for humanness, as the inner core of all ideas of development, however different various cultures may be, it is quite possible that a broad humanism may come to be accepted without any precise definition.

I suppose that the advance of man towards understanding himself, in relation both to other men and to the environment, is common to the whole world today. If that is so, then the process of his release from ignorance, superstition, inhibition, repression and suppression of all kinds through the printed word, into a fuller freedom, itself becomes the process of his evolution. In this process, self-education, renewal and integration of the human personality become the central themes of all significant print culture.

The basic conflict that will have to be resolved, will be between this evolutionary idea of man and Absolute standards of all kinds, which a minority, or a political authority,



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Longman

Julius Caesar as a religious reformer

STEFAN WEINSTOCK:

Divus Iulius
460pp plus 31 plates. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £9.

Towards the end of a life whose productive scholarship extended over seventy years, Theodor Mommsen turned his interest to the study of Roman religion. The lead he gave in this direction was, like virtually everything else he did, fruitful. Stefan Weinstock looks back through the work of Hugh Last, Wilhelm Kroll and Franz Cumont to Mommsen as the ultimate source of his own studies. Like Cumont in particular, he demonstrates the importance of understanding the real character of an era in the ancient world through the religious ideas of its people. Dr Weinstock's theme is the age of Julius Caesar, and Caesar is placed in the centre of the stage. He asks whether the dictator himself was not "an imaginative and daring religious reformer who created and planned new cults, accepted extraordinary honours, and died when he was about to become a divine ruler". In this view Caesar was not only founder of the empire but the originator of the religious tradition that sustained it, the man who without seeking to be an innovator nor to spread a new philosophy of life, broke radically with existing religious tradition.

These are big claims, and the author sets about his task of substantiating them with the thoroughgoing method of the Continental scholar. The critical apparatus is formidable and he includes perhaps the finest series of coin plates of the period spanning Julius Caesar and Augustus that is to be found anywhere outside specialist collections. Whether one agrees with the author or not, this is in every way a major work of scholarship on the period.

No one who studies the ancient world can think of its inhabitants as rationalists. Caesar was no exception. The *ludi* belonged to the "Trajan" families of Rome, that is, to the aristocrats who could trace their descent from Aeneas or one of his companions. Their home was Alba Longa which Aeneas had founded. Their ancestral gods included Apollo, one of the first Greek gods to be accepted by the Roman Senate, Venus, and the youthful Juppiter Vediovis which also linked them with Trojan legend. Caesar cannot be understood apart from these age-old traditions of worship which influenced profoundly the pattern of religious change which was to take place in Rome in his final years and under his auspices.

Dr Weinstock, however, regards Caesar neither as an ambitious visionary like Octavian who at the age of nineteen saw himself as future ruler of the Roman world, nor in the suc-

cession of Roman generals from Pompey to the Emperor Julian who were fascinated by the example of Alexander the Great. Instead, he stresses that until the Gallic campaigns Caesar's political and military rise had not been easy and he had shown no ambition towards honours beyond those that Pompey had achieved, nor towards the worship of deities other than those which had made Pompey victorious. It was only after Pharsalus in August of 48 BC and Pompey's death that he began to conceive fundamental religious reforms to match the uniqueness of his constitutional status.

During the next three-and-a-half years the Senate voted him an accumulation of honours without precedent. Step by step these are analysed with a mastery of detailed observation. It is almost as though the author had been in Rome itself in evaluate the symbolism of each new coin series and the purpose behind each new senatorial decree in these crowded years. Some of the honours paid to Caesar by the Senate such as Saviour and Liberator had had a long history; even that of Founder and Successor of Romulus had been rooted in previous heroes of Roman history. The title *Pater patriae* had been anticipated by Cicero, of all people. Caesar had some claim on the traditional virtues of a good ruler of *pietas* and *clementia*. What took these honours out of the scope of the ritual hitherto reserved for successful commanders was Caesar's attempt to graft on them a version of the ruler cult as it was practised in the Hellenistic East, and to give them permanence. Dea Roma

was to be reinforced by the never-changing authority of an individual leader. Caesar's assumption of the garb of the Alban kings, his cult and his priesthood all pointed in one direction. Only the diadem of royalty was refused. Would this refusal have been maintained had he not been struck down on the Ides of March?

Cumulatively, the honours assumed by Caesar could be interpreted as a revolution in the religion as well as the constitution of the Republic. What is not clear is how far they were willed by Caesar himself. In a sense Caesar had always been king of Alba entitled to wear the trappings of this office. In the Hellenistic East he was already *Basilus*. Did he merely want to consolidate his position in the capital while he made ready for a long campaign in distant Parthia, or did he wish to impose the ruler cult central on himself in Rome? Dr Weinstock points out how the succession of Caesar's victories required ever more spectacular honours from the Senate, and draws attention to the influence of Hellenistic ideas concerning the true nature of statesmanship and of the divine character of the ruler, that were tending inevitably to invest Caesar's monarchical authority with the aura of kingship. Caesar certainly welcomed these ideas, but to attribute to him both the vision and spiritual idealism of a religious reformer is surely eliminating too much.

One crucial factor is omitted from the demonstration. It is that with or without Caesar Roman religion had been steadily moving towards crisis. Varro's *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* included an introductory chapter devoted to Roman religion in the century of the Republic. He tells that "religious reform was in the air", but not why it was necessary in what terms it was being carried out. It is a pity that so much scholarship has gone into producing a work in which few who are not specialists in the period will be able to appreciate a monograph, a piece of disciplined research and writing as superb. It is not often that one speaks of a pioneer work in a field thoroughly explored as the work of Caesar. Yet this is the case with *Julius*.

Not a patch on Dryden

The Aeneid of Virgil

A verse translation by Allen Mandelbaum
401pp. California University Press (BEC). £4.50.

There is a fashion for weary translations of the weary classics produced in a spirit of academic tact in a terribly lame language. Who reads them and respects them, deprived in this attitude both of English and of ancient poetry? Why does it seem an attractive proposition to publish them, do they confer prestige or are they colleges in the Kingdom of Dullness where these works are offered all? The point is simple: poor, ten good lines or one good line, if you have not mastered the line you are using, then writing many, many hundreds of these lines will merely multiply your indifference. There is seldom any sign of progress in translators and the later books of Virgil and Homer are not written in better English verse than the earlier. The

consistency is like that of factory-baked pastry, crisp-looking, even, and yet dull.

To translate Virgil's *Aeneid* in verse is to challenge comparison with Dryden. Allen Mandelbaum shows such verbal similarity to Dryden's work as to suggest he quarried in it, a sensible procedure. There is even a sense in which both Dryden and Professor Mandelbaum are neo-classicists of the same kind. Technical perfection is a matter of form. The other difference is that Dryden rhymes and these rhymes clank with a clang and effect that have perhaps no modern equivalents and that Dryden allows himself more obvious pleasure. It is like fresh leaves dripping dew and headed style nix to be used to translate Virgil. But this is a version from which one may quote and vary wherever it falls open: the son of Dardanus will reach kingdom (for you can now be sure of this) and yet shall wish that he never came. I see wars, horrid wars, the foam of much blood. One ought not to understand long work in fables. We can work of course to be in the right mood for approaching Virgil, that is, a poetical mood, to be alive if it really were modern poetry. One cannot do the question of Ezra Pound, for Mandelbaum is an expert in the harsh law that there is no such thing as a free lunch, except as poetry. His fact is, mimes him, his reserve and discipline, his own highly polished appreciation of Virgil, yet a further dose of deathly beetle to his English. He is unable to reproduce the technical perfection of the original, the end of what destroys the appealing flatness of his language.

In Print The Tokyo Judgment

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), November 12, 1948. Edited by S. V. A. Helling (University of Groningen) and G. F. H. Helling (University of Amsterdam).

Part 1: Majority Judgment. Part 2: Dissenting opinion. Part 3: Other dissenting opinions & Charter of the IMTFE. Bound in 2 volumes (ca. 900 & 300pp.). With documents and judgements of persons and subjects, etc. Cloth. Amsterdam 1972. Subscription price fl. 300.-. Publication: October, 1972.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED IN FULL IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE (1948), on the "Development of the IMTFE" and the "Terms of Surrender". No complete agreement of the administration of justice after the war can be made without a consideration of the Tokyo trial. Prospectus on application.

Just Out

Sharples, K. S.

The Legal Framework of Judicial Sentencing Policy

A study based on the Dutch and English systems. XIX, 380pp. Cloth. Amsterdam 1972. Price fl. 72.-. Presents for the first time a comparative study of the main principles on which the Dutch and English legal systems are based. The author compares the two systems in the light of the latest developments in the field of penal policy. The book is intended to all who are concerned with the administration of penal law in any capacity. Prospectus on application.



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New ways in reproduction

The Penrose Graphic Arts International Annual 65, 1972

Edited by Herbert Spencer
215pp. Lund Humphries, £5.95 (paperback, £3.95).

Now sixty-five volumes old, *The Penrose Annual* has joined its well-known title in a rather more pertinent description, *Graphic Arts International*. By skillful design, the jacket isolates this new addition from the old title; the spine and half-title ignore the addition, while the title-page incorporates it on a double-page spread, but in a manner so ambiguous that librarians may find it hard to decide whether the old title has been expanded, or a new subtitle added.

After deciding how to treat the title, many a librarian will find its contents so heterogeneous as to require elaborate cross-references. For among the graphic arts surveyed are books and comics, newspapers and postage stamps, photography and print-making, together with several articles giving technical explanations of new printing methods.

By far the longest contribution is a copiously illustrated study of "A Golden Age of Comics". The story of their development in Britain from 1898 to 1938 is told in an engagingly brisk and informative style by Dennis Gifford, who draws for comics, collects comics, and writes books about comics. So vividly does he conjure up the excitement of

creating and reading them that the sight of his illustrations is at first strangely disappointing. Some of the comics become clear. Never were comics printed on such good paper, nor with such uniform technical skill, as the sixteen pages reproduced in *The Penrose Annual*. Not only the look, but the feel and smell of these pages are inevitably different in reproduction.

A better chance for the printers of this annual to show their skill is provided by two excellent articles on print-making. One illustration to an epitaph by John Curtis on the "original print" makes it horrifyingly clear how far a silk-screen print can depart from an artist's original, without his gallery declining to sell it or the artist declining to sign it. Other plates to this toughly-voiced epitaph show how quickly an artist may lose his sensitivity to the medium used to produce his prints. One artist innocent of this fact is R. B. Kitaj, to whom Mr Curtis devotes a double-page coloured plate, and whom he singles out for special praise in exploiting screen prints with a creative awareness of the potentialities.

Neither Mr Curtis in his epitaph nor John Thompson in "The print-maker and the public" refers to Gemini G.E.L. of Los Angeles, whose sensitive cooperation with artists and inventive methods of producing their prints and multiples, deserve wider recognition. Nevertheless Mr Thompson's article provides

a cool and factual complement to the hard-hitting epitaph by Mr Curtis.

Eric de Maré assures purchasers of this year's *Penrose Annual* that they have acquired a selection of eight gorgeous prints, on almost indestructible plastics paper, by a latter-day Titian: photographer and teacher Alfred Lammer. A short note by Mr de Maré tells us how the shots were taken. They are indeed gorgeous, but the quality of their reproduction is by no means faultless. Moreover it is questionable whether such a group is shown to best advantage when three bleed-off pairs compete against each other in single openings.

Completely satisfactory illustrations for articles on the graphic arts are all but impossible in a reduced scale, and with a strict limit on the number of colours. Ironically the most impressive typographical specimen this year is part of a sheet from the two-volume *Compatri Edition* of the *OED*, supplied as an inset by its printers. The irony stems from the fact that the page is itself a considerable reduction from the original thirteen-volume edition, yet it is astonishingly legible, even without the magnifying glass supplied with the *Compatri Edition* by the publishers.

Reductions in scale make it impossible to appreciate the full grandeur and mystery of proportions of some of Henry van de Velde's most successful designs for books; but the article by his fellow Belgian, Fer-

nand Bandin, makes up in scholarship for what cannot be presented visually within the production limitations of the *Penrose Annual*. Although van de Velde worked with other men's types, including some strange early versions of Futura, he none the less achieved a distinctive style in his books as he did in his other multifarious exploits as a designer.

Several exemplary illustrations accompany Stuart Ruse's article on "Stamps by students". A sheet of prize-winning designs by a student of Newcastle upon Tyne Polytechnic shows three stamps in their true size, printed by gravure in colour, with the Queen's head embossed in gold. An admirable design in black-and-white by a student at Kingston Polytechnic is equally well reproduced, and is carefully tipped into the margin of Mr Ruse's lucid contribution.

Lucidity is not Robert Norton's strong point in writing about "Display photo-satting in the seventies". He seems to assume that all his readers are printers or publishers of the printed word; but since he makes almost indiscriminate use of first person singular and first person plural, it is not always easy to know what he does mean. He gives a list of manufacturers of display photo-satting equipment, but leaves out a quantity of data which could have made his list as useful as a list given earlier in "The Penrose Survey" of phototypesetting machines exhibited for the first time in 1971.

James Moran also describes some of the machines first exhibited in 1971. Although his article is given the rather broad title "Printing machinery exhibitions", it is in fact almost entirely devoted to IPEX 1971. With an attractive combination of wit and clarity, Mr Moran singles out some of the more pertinent exhibits, notably those which indicated improvements in photographic and lithography; and the emergence of optical character recognition devices. When these devices have been commercially developed

to the point where they can copy any typewritten or printed text, the days of the compositor keyboard operator will be over. Mr Moran tells us that the far from infrequent use of the typewriter in the correct manner, the sub-editor and then the optical character recognition device to produce a tape which he fed into type or photo-composing machines.

A great deal more on the use of optical character recognition devices is included in "The Penrose Survey", and M. Granovskii writes about them in his piece "Technical developments for newspaper industry". He sees devices as having useful applications for classified advertising input, and also discusses the merits of various keyboard systems. The *Spain* covers in a masterly way the whole story of the rise and fall of the Zulu nation. Peter Beck's *Path of Blood* and *The Rule of the Great Battles* are volumes to which the *Penrose Survey* already been mentioned, but it serves a paragraph to itself. In addition to the subject matter mentioned, it summarizes a great deal of data and comment on the setting and on new printing techniques in British and American newspapers, in the course of which it reveals that *The Times* independent supplement is expected to appear this autumn as a entirely new type face, Europa, which has been included to the board of the *Times*. If this is the first indication to readers of changes which may affect them, it just goes to show that they too should read *The Penrose Annual*, even if they follow the editor of Camerton, a village reviewer in paying less attention to its shorter and less technically detailed articles. Doing, they may, miss a little of the minutiae of the National Army and the National Archives, and several of them interesting and unusual.

Books received

Shaka's Heirs. 232pp.

Allen and Unwin. £4.
This is an old little book. The heirs of Shaka deal with are Dingane, Mzilikazi and Lobengula. The author also outlines the story of the end of his military power, and provides a brief appendix on the early use of machine guns. Most of the material in the book has been dealt with often and more informatively in recent years. Donald Morris's *The Washing of the Spears* covers in a masterly way the whole story of the rise and fall of the Zulu nation. Peter Beck's *Path of Blood* and *The Rule of the Great Battles* are volumes to which the *Penrose Survey* already been mentioned, but it serves a paragraph to itself. In addition to the subject matter mentioned, it summarizes a great deal of data and comment on the setting and on new printing techniques in British and American newspapers, in the course of which it reveals that *The Times* independent supplement is expected to appear this autumn as a entirely new type face, Europa, which has been included to the board of the *Times*. If this is the first indication to readers of changes which may affect them, it just goes to show that they too should read *The Penrose Annual*, even if they follow the editor of Camerton, a village reviewer in paying less attention to its shorter and less technically detailed articles. Doing, they may, miss a little of the minutiae of the National Army and the National Archives, and several of them interesting and unusual.

Biography and Memoirs

John. *Journal of a Somerset Rector 1803-1834*. Edited by Howard and Peter Coombs. 520pp. Batsford. £4.50.

John Singer (1772-1839), the quaker rector of Camerton, a village reviewer in paying less attention to its shorter and less technically detailed articles. Doing, they may, miss a little of the minutiae of the National Army and the National Archives, and several of them interesting and unusual.

Robert L. DARTT (Compiler): *G. A. Henty*. A Bibliography. 184pp. Aldershot: John Sherratt and Son. £5.

Robert Dartt sets out to give a guide to the first editions and periodical publications of G. A. Henty, presumably for the collector whose chief concern is to add more titles to his shelves or to discover where he can see the rarer titles. In the foreword the author states that he "has not employed the technical terms of book description so as to avoid confusion", but it is doubtful whether the reader would have had any more difficulties if the standardized form of today's bibliographies had been used. It will take a collector far longer to find a rare Henty book or even a more common one in fine condition than it would take to master the "technical terms". In spite of the entries is still rather confusing. After a short title heading one finds the publisher and locations, cover, spine, title-page and contents described in that order, with details of the endpapers and edges at the beginning and end of the contents instead of with the cover and spine, where one would expect to find them. The entries are arranged alphabetically, which may help collectors. There are plenty of cross-references; this means that one can look up the name of a magazine and find all Henty's contributions, which will also be listed by their titles. Similarly, titles given to extracts from stories are listed separately with details of their original appearance.

It is regrettable that the book was not checked more carefully, for there are a number of spelling mistakes and other more serious errors—for example, misquoting dates for *Berke the Brave* and *52 Stories of Herodotus in the Actian Boy*. At the same time, however, it is a useful book, and it is a pity that it has been cleared up. Three of *Gabriel Allen M.P.* are listed, as are three of *Robert L. DARTT*.

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hands (hired) on which to fit paws". There are intriguingly incomplete hints at the prevalence of the musical score, that delightful pastiche of Edwardian tunes.

The book is generously, even extravagantly, illustrated, with colour breaking out all over the place. In addition to Beatrix Potter pictures, all of which have been seen elsewhere, there are many production sketches which show how the originals were translated into film terms, and the book concludes with a section of colour stills from the film. These prove that, whatever one may feel about the total effect of the film, the mask-maker, Rosalind Doboujinsky, is a very great craftsman and the true hero of this story.

Classics

Oxford Latin Dictionary. Fascicle III: Domitius - Gorgonius. 768pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £5.

The welcome appearance of fascicle III of the Oxford Latin Dictionary some months ahead of schedule encourages the hope that publication of the remaining five fascicles may be completed before 1982, the date originally suggested. Less welcome is an increase in price from £3.75 to £5: in comparison the Lewis and Short Dictionary, costing just over £6, is a real bargain. For though inferior in presentation and scholarship, it covers a wider range of Latin and will serve the less pedantic scholars as indispensably as it has served countless generations in the past.

Costume

LISTER, MARGR. *Costumes of Everyday Life*. An Illustrated History of Working Clothes from 900-1910. 178pp. Barrie and Jenkins. £3.

Two hundred and fifty line drawings show examples of working dress in the widest sense of the term. Each has a full description of the dress illustrated, including the fabrics and colours of the different garments, but no sources or authorities are given. Short chapters summarize the dress of successive periods, dress in general, rather than the dress shown in the illustrations. The book will probably be useful for dressing plays, but as an historical study of working clothes, is negligible.

History

PEARL, CYRIL. *Rebel Dawn Under*. 199pp. Heinemann. £2.25.

During the American Civil War there was a curious incident in Melbourne in the colony of Victoria, Australia. In January, 1865, the *Shenandoah*, a ship of war under the colours of the Confederate States, sailed into Port Phillip after visiting several ports in the Indian Ocean. The commander of the ship, Lieutenant-Commander James Wadell, asked for permission to refuel before searching for more Union ships. The Consul for the United States in Melbourne, William Blanchard, asked the Government of Victoria to seize the ship as a pirate. This episode used to be discussed by Australian historians as a rather dull question in international law, on the right of a colonial government to deal direct with a foreign power. Now, under the lively pen of one of the greatest wits and perceptive observers of society "down under", the story has come to life. Cyril Pearl has used the events to explore and analyse the colonial society at some depth. It is this probing of the social scene which justifies the expansion into a book of what would otherwise be enough for a learned article.

SAUER, CARL OTWIN. *Skierish Century North America*. The Land and People as seen by the Europeans. 319pp. University of California Press (BECI). £5.20.

In his new book Carl Otwin Sauer traverses some well-trodden ground, but traverses it with a difference—the difference of emphasis indicated by his subtitle. He is at all times concerned to know what the native peoples, territories, vegetation and fauna, and the varying local institutions and economies were like. He brings considerable learning, and an

alert but unsentimental human sympathy, to the accounts left by early explorers (and exploiters) of what they saw and did; and the tone and conclusions of his book chime with our belated and very recognition of the many excellences of the Europeans destroyed in North America and the greed and selfishness attendant on their explorations and conquests.

The material is organized in five main sections, dealing with the Atlantic seaboard from the Gulf Coast to Canada, Spanish entries into the interior and the Pacific Coast, the rivalry of the Spaniards and the French in Florida, the (inconsiderable) activities of the English, and a final and somewhat chastening review of a "Century of Vain Attempts". There are twenty-nine maps and illustrations and a bibliography.

TREHARNE, R. F. *Essays on Thirteenth Century England*. 85pp. The Historical Association. 50p (members), 70p (non-members).

These three lectures were delivered in 1958-61 and are now published posthumously with a certain amount of annotation to bring them up to date. That on the political scene is of particular value for its account of the role and the *esprit de corps* of the Civil Service. The second, a survey of the "rural scene", is more descriptive than interpretative, but with original emphases, for example on the efficiency of the transport system. The final lecture, on industry, is the most valuable. Historians have tended to allow too little importance to this side of the English economy and the scale of the mining industry is too commonly neglected. It is salutary to be reminded that Edward I's lead mine at Bere Alston employed 700 men, and so may have been the focus of a community of 2,000 people—one of the largest in England. Very useful sketches of the coal, salt and tin industries are provided. These lucid and modest essays reflect wide reading. They provide admirable introductions to their subjects, and give cause for regret that R. F. Treharne died leaving much of the fruit of his research on the thirteenth century unpublished.

Horticulture

FISH, MARGR. *Gardening in the Shade*. 160pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2.25.

A guide to the successful growing of those plants, whether shrubs, rock plants, annuals or perennials, which thrive best in a shady garden. First published eight years ago, the book, which includes some attractive photographs, is now reissued in a second impression.

Occult

CONWAY, DAVID. *Magic*. An Occult Primer. 286pp. Corgi. £5.

Though David Conway has done a good deal of research, *Magic* is a curious mixture of assumptions, information, intelligence, and occasional flippant, written in the usual question-begging idiom. His aim, he writes, is to show that "magic actually works". He describes it in the words of Aleister Crowley as "the Science and Art of causing Change in accordance with the Will"; a resounding definition that could cover most deliberately undertaken human activities. What seems to be meant in this context is the use of certain techniques to produce, among other effects, vivid hallucinations both in the adepts and in others. Mr Conway describes with clarity the subjective side of some of these techniques, but is less good at magical, herbal recipes which are few and inadequate. There follows

an "Occult Who's Who", where Blessed Ramon Lull appears as "Raimond Lully", a Spanish alchemist, and St Albert the Great is credited with the discovery of the philosopher's Stone and with "the construction of a statue so lifelike that it became endowed with the gift of speech". The entry for Roger Bacon cites him as saying "the end of all true philosophy is to arrive at a knowledge of the Creator through knowledge of the Created World", and notes that many magicians accept this "as appropriate to their art". But the magicians do not seem to mean what the Franciscan did. With the use of some new verbal definitions the sentence is now interpreted in terms that equate "union with God" with "the apotheosis of the Self": a very significant shift from contemplation to domination.

WALLACE, MARTIN. *The Irish*. How They Live And Work. 166pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2.25.

This factual survey of life in the Republic of Ireland provides a convenient explanation of the organization of central and local government, elections and political parties, and the characteristic state-sponsored Boards. There is useful information on agriculture, trade and industry; some account of the slowly improving welfare services; and a description of systems of education but with little evaluation of their content; and similar chapters on transport and amusements. The influence of the Catholic Church is naturally mentioned, but there is no account of the religious Orders. The general description of the country is so breathless that local characterizations are emptied of meaning. "Cork city has a strong cultural life." Limerick surprisingly has lacked a university." Minto Wallace wrote with more constructive insight in his *Northern Ireland* (TLS, May 28, 1971).

Sports and Pastimes

OGLIVY, DAVID. *Flying Light Aircraft*. 224pp. A. and C. Black. £2.50.

Today's private pilot needs to know a good deal about instrument flying, radio, air traffic control, signals, air law, meteorology and height regulations as well as how to handle his aeroplane. David Ogilvy omits none of the aspects of the process by which the amateur acquires a private pilot's licence or of the further skills and accomplishments to which it may lead. Lest this should seem calculated to daunt the aspirant, he points out that, whereas in 1955 there were only 5,000 private pilots in this country, there are now nearly 18,000. He makes no attempt to present flying as an easy option, explains why all the care is necessary and is sound on the technical and scientific facts associated with the sport. The book is a comprehensive introduction, well written.

Transport

O'CALLAGHAN, JOHN. *The Saga of the Steam Ship "Great Britain"*. 199pp. Harl-Davin. £2.60.

The first iron-built ship designed for regular ocean-going voyages, and the first to rely entirely on a propeller for her steam propulsion, the "Great Britain" was the fruit of the imagination and technical genius of Isambard Kingdom Brunel. John O'Callaghan tells clearly and in considerable detail the story of her design and launch and her subsequent career at sea and adds some interesting anecdotes of life on board.

War

MEISTER, JURO. *The Soviet Navy*. Volume 1: 150pp. Volume 2: 152pp. Macdonald. £1.15 each.

These two new volumes in the series "Navies of the Second World War" presented difficult problems to their author. The Soviet authorities have not only kept the official archives closed but also have deliberately distorted what information they have released. It is only the existence of foreign sources, especially German ones, which have enabled Jurg Meister to produce anything approaching accuracy. Between them the two volumes cover major and minor warships respectively; two more are planned, dealing with motor torpedo-boats, submarines and non-combatant vessels. The photographs of each type, the Russian ones usually of poor quality, are supported by detailed descriptions of the ships, their equipment and their careers. This is a welcome addition to the scanty sources of Soviet naval history.

ROBERTS, KENNETH. *From School to Work*. A Study of the Youth Employment Services. 168pp. Newton Abbot: David and Charles. £2.75.

This is the most complete survey yet to be published about the Youth Employment Services from whom it was founded in 1909 to help school-leavers to find their first jobs. Kenneth Roberts emphasizes the flexibility of the service as it has evolved and the measure of independence

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